NUBIA, ETHIOPIA, AND THE CRUSADING WORLD, 1095–1402

Adam Simmons

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The Crusades had a wide variety of impacts on societies throughout Europe, Asia, and Africa. One such notable impact was its role in the development of knowledge between cultures. This book argues that the Nubian kingdom of Dotawo and the Latin Christians became increasingly more connected between the twelfth and early fourteenth centuries than has been acknowledged. Subsequently, when Solomonic Ethiopian-Latin Christian diplomatic relations began in 1402, they were building on the prior connections of Nubia, either wittingly or unwittingly: Ethiopia became the 'Ethiopia' that the Latin Christians had previously been aiming to develop relations with. The histories of Nubia, Ethiopia, and the Crusades were directly and indirectly entwined between the twelfth century and 1402.

By placing Nubia and Ethiopia within the wider context of the Crusades, new perspectives can be made regarding the international activity of Nubia and Ethiopia between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries and the regional role reversal of Dotawo and Solomonic Ethiopia from the early fourteenth century. Prior to the fourteenth century, Nubia had been the dominant Christian power in the region before Solomonic Ethiopia began to replace it, including by adopting elements of discourse which had previously been attributed to Nubia, such as its ruler being the recognised protector of the Christians of north-east Africa. This process should not be viewed in isolation of the wider regional geo-political context.

Nubia, Ethiopia, and the Crusading World, 1095–1402 will appeal to all those interested in the history of Nubia, Ethiopia, and the Crusades particularly concerning inter-regional physical and intellectual connectivity.

Adam Simmons is currently a Leverhulme Early Career Research Fellow at Nottingham Trent University. His research centres on the regional and inter-regional roles of pre-sixteenth-century African kingdoms and communities and their relationships with the wider world since the fourth century.

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Abbreviations

AOrLatin	*Archives de l'Orient latin*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1881–4)
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
DBMNT	*Database for Medieval Nubian Texts*, available at http://www.dbmnt.uw.edu.pl/
EA	*Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, eds. S. Uhlig and A. Bausi, 5 vols. (Wiesbaden, 2003–14)
FHN	*Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*, eds. T. Eide, T. Hägg, R. H. Pierce, and L. Török, 4 vols. (Bergen, 1994–2000)
Golubovich, *Biblioteca*	G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografia della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente*, first series, 5 vols. (Florence, 1906–27)
HPEC	*History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church, Known as the History of the Holy Church, by Sawirus ibn al-Mukaffaʿ, Bishop of al-Asmunin*, eds. various authors, 4 vols. (Cairo, 1943–74)
IJAHS	*International Journal of African Historical Studies*
JAH	*Journal of African History*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JASR	*Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports*
JES	*Journal of Ethiopian Studies*
JLA	*Journal of Late Antiquity*
JMH	*Journal of Medieval History*
JOAS	*Journal of Oriental and African Studies*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JWH	*Journal of World History*
MGH Auct. Ant.	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Auctores antiquissimi*, 15 vols. (Berlin, 1877–1919)
MGH Dt. Chron.	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Deutsche Chroniken*, 6 vols. (Hannover/ Leipzig, 1895–9)

MGH SrG ns	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, Nova series*, 24 vols. (Berlin/Hannover, 1922–2009)
MGH SS	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores*, 39 vols. (Hannover, 1826–2009)
MGH SS RGUS	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatism editi*, 78+ vols. (Hannover, 1871–)
OSCN	G. Vantini, *Oriental Sources Concerning Nubia* (Heidelberg, 1975)
PG	*Patrologia Graecae*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 162 vols. (Paris, 1857–86)
PL	*Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–91)
RHC Doc. Arm.	*Recueil Historiens des Croisades: Documents arméniens*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1869–1906)
RHC HOr	*Recueil Historiens des Croisades: Historiens occidentaux*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1844–95)
RHC HOcc	*Recueil Historiens des Croisades: Historiens orientaux*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1872–1906)
RHC Lois	*Recueil Historiens des Croisades: Lois*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1841–3)
RIE	E. Bernand, A. J. Drewes, R., Schneider, M., Kropp, and H. Stroomer, eds., *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite*, 3 vols. in 4 parts (Paris and Wiesbaden, 1991–2019)
RRH	*Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani (1097–1291)*, ed. R. Röhricht (Innsbruck, 1904)
RSE	*Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*
TCAMAPS	*Travaux du Centre d'archéologie méditerranéenne de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences*

A Note to the Reader – Defining Nubia and Ethiopia

The geo-cultural region of Nubia stretched from the first cataract of the Nile up to at least 300 km beyond the region of modern Khartoum, covering more than 1,200 km north to south as the crow flies. The extent of its western boundary is currently unknown, whilst its eastern boundary, at least for some periods, appears to have reached up to the Red Sea.[1] The rulers of Nubia held the title of *ourou* or *basileu[s]* (ⲟⲩⲣⲟⲩ/Ⲃⲁⲥⲓⲗⲉⲩ). The toponym Nubia is used in this work to provide consistency for the international context, but politically, there was no single Sudanese Christian kingdom called 'Nubia'. Since the Christianisation of the kingdoms of Nobadia, Makuria, and Alwa in the sixth century by Byzantine missionaries, a continuous Christian power is known to have existed in the region until at least the late fifteenth century, when its last *ourou* is documented, if not into the sixteenth century. Giovanni Ruffini has shown that from the first half of the twelfth century at the latest, if not during the eleventh century, the Nubian kingdoms of Makuria (which had annexed Nobadia in the early eighth century) and Alwa united under a singular toponym of the Kingdom of Dotawo (Ⲇⲱⲧⲁⲩⲟ) in Old Nubian sources.[2] However, as far as external commentators were concerned, Dotawo was not adopted as an international toponym. Muslim sources continued to separately reference Makuria and Alwa, under the overarching toponym of *al-Nūba* (النوبة) – in addition to *al-Marīs*, which roughly coincided with the region of Nobadia in Lower Nubia – whilst Latin Christian sources only refer to the kingdom as *Nubia.* They show no awareness of the toponym of Dotawo or any further geographical or political specificity that it may have had. Thus, it is unknown what exactly the Latin Christians understood as Nubia, whether it was synonymous with Dotawo or was representative of a vaguer political or cultural regional construct. Therefore, Nubian-Latin Christian relations is the term which best reflects the Nubia documented by numerous source corpora. Employing a more specific descriptor of Dotawan-Latin Christian relations, for example, might otherwise overstate the reality of sometimes imagined Nubian-Latin Christian relations by Latin Christians or the Muslims of Egypt in place of the extent of the actual direct involvement of Dotawo.

Demarcating clear geographical boundaries for Ethiopia for the period in question is more problematic; indeed, Ethiopia's geography continually

shifted. A Christian kingdom had been present in Ethiopia since ʾAksum's conversion in the fourth century – largely centred in the modern northern Ethiopian regions of Amhara and Tigray and modern Eritrea – until the disestablishment of the Solomonic dynasty in 1974 within the more recognisable borders of modern Ethiopia. For most, if not all, of the crusading period, the Ethiopian post-ʾAksumite kingdom of Bəgwəna was ruled by the so-called Zagwe dynasty until the arrival of the Solomonic dynasty in 1270, who claimed legitimacy and descent from Ethiopia's ʾAksumite predecessors. The most common title for Ethiopian rulers was *nəguś* (ንጉሥ), but rulers could also be addressed by the titles *ḥaṣe/ḥaḍe* or *aṣe*, which are most commonly translated as 'your majesty'. What the Latin Christians came to know as 'Abyssinia' from the twelfth century largely centred on the region of Lasta in north-central Ethiopia, east of Lake Tana. This lasted until the first major period of Solomonic Ethiopian expansion beyond the historical northern heartlands of ʾAksum and Bəgwəna, undertaken by *aṣe* ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon during the first half of the fourteenth century.[3]

The kingdom of Ethiopia did not identify as 'Ethiopia' until the arrival of the Solomonids. Neither was Ethiopia the kingdom commonly referred to as *Ethiopia* in Latin Christian texts. Instead, the concept of Christian 'Ethiopia', or the comparable Kush, the latter of which was employed by Nubians themselves, centred overwhelmingly on Nubia until the fourteenth century by external commentators. Pre-Christian discourses, which remained prominent in the works of many post-classical and medieval Latin and Greek writers, located 'Ethiopia' anywhere from West Africa, East Africa, or India, depending on context. As will be discussed in Chapter 1, the rare examples of the ʾAksumite use of the Greek *Aithiopia* (Αἰθιοπία) cannot be said to have been used as endonyms akin to the fourteenth-century Ethiopian emergence of *ʾItyop̣ya* (ኢትዮጵያ), whilst the ʾAksumite non-biblical references to Kush (Kāsū, ካሱ) clearly demarcate Nubia. The need to carefully distinguish between Ethiopias is integral to understanding the antecedents and motivations behind the increasing Latin Christian desire to engage with regions across Africa from the fifteenth century. Henceforth, Ethiopia (unquoted) will be used in relation to the kingdom of Ethiopia for consistency, whereas 'Ethiopia' (quoted) will refer always to either Nubia or regional north-east Africa depending on the given context unless otherwise stated. By doing so, this current study will highlight the oft-ignored role of Nubia in the history of the Crusades and Ethiopian-Latin Christian interaction.

Notes

1 For background, see D. A. Welsby, *Medieval Kingdoms of Nubia: Pagans, Christians and Muslims in the Middle Nile* (London, 2002) and G. R. Ruffini, *Medieval Nubia: A Social and Economic History* (New York, 2012).

2 G. R. Ruffini, 'Newer Light on the Kingdom of Dotawo', in *Qasr Ibrim, Between Egypt and Africa: Studies in Cultural Exchange (Nino Symposium, Leiden, 11–12 December 2009)*, eds. J. van der Vliet and J. L. Hagen (Leuven, 2013), pp. 179–91.

3 For background, see Sergew Hable Sellassie, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270* (Addis Ababa, 1972); Taddesse Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia, 1270–1527* (Oxford, 1972); M.-L. Derat, *L'énigme d'une dynastie sainte et usurpatrice dans le royaume chrétien d'Éthiopie du XIᵉ au XIIIᵉ siècle* (Turnhout, 2018); M.-L. Derat, *Le domaine des rois éthiopiens (1270–1527): Espace, pouvoir et monachisme* (Paris, 2003); S. Kelly, ed., *A Companion to Medieval Ethiopia and Eritrea* (Leiden, 2020).

Santiago de Compostela

Avignon

Rome

Constantinople

Alexandria

Jerusalem

Cairo

Aqaba

Qūs

Aswan

Aidhāb

Qasr Ibrim

Faras

Sawākin

Dongola

Meroë

Massawa

Soba

Aksum

Lalibala
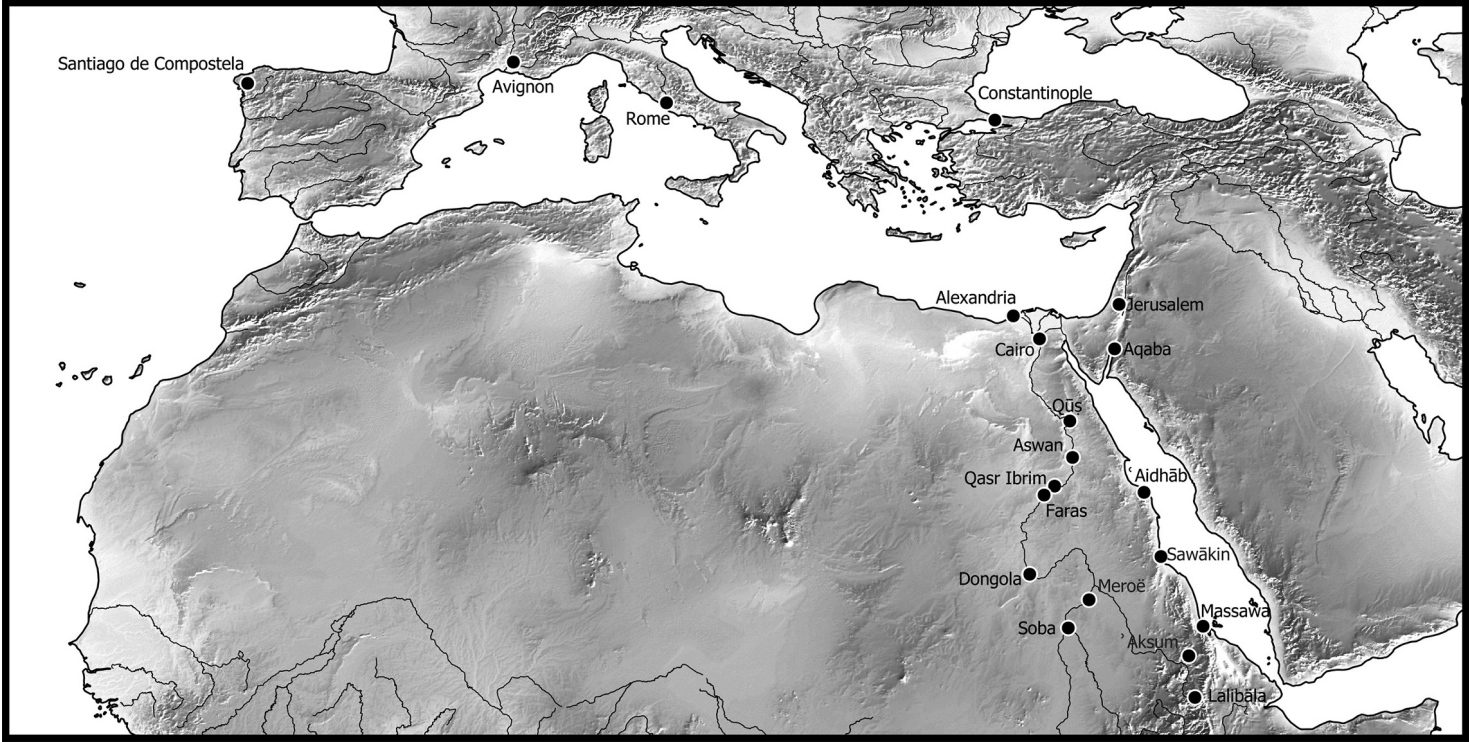
Introduction

In the summer of 1402, an Ethiopian embassy of unknown size, led by the Florentine Antonio Bartoli, arrived in Venice. The embassy was sent by *aṣe* Däwit II, the ruler of Ethiopia (r. c. 1379–1413), who had initially questioned Bartoli and one of his companions about their home in 'Frankland' after they had been brought to his court in c. 1398–9. It remains unclear whether Bartoli and his companion were merchants, pilgrims, or general travellers. Verena Krebs has recently shown how this Ethiopian embassy, and subsequent embassies which were dispatched to Latin Europe throughout the fifteenth century, primarily sought relics – specifically a piece of the True Cross in 1402 – and other religious objects. The returning embassy was partly, if not wholly, successful in its aims and had also acquired the services of five additional craftsmen: a painter, a carpenter, two builders, and an armourer. The embassies were especially not seeking to acquire supposedly superior Latin European weapons technology, which is the oft-repeated scholarly narrative.[1] For our purposes, the arrival of the 1402 embassy began a period which has been framed by Matteo Salvadore as the 'birth of Ethiopian-European relations'.[2] Did, however, the events of 1402 just happen, and how far did the embassy reflect a beginning? Whilst the specific desires of *aṣe* Däwit which directly led to the embassy may have been more immediate, the embassy should also be situated within a narrative which encompassed the previous two centuries. Discussion of the post-1402 period should additionally be viewed within the context of the relations between Nubia, Ethiopia, and the crusading world since the launch of the First Crusade in 1095. Specifically, this book is designed to highlight the role that the Nubian kingdom of Dotawo – Ethiopia's northern neighbour – played in the origins of Ethiopian-Latin Christian relations prior to 1402 and its subsequent facilitation. In order to do so, this book offers an interconnected history of Nubia, Ethiopia, and the Latin Christian Crusaders between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries from their respective perspectives, at least as far as the current source corpus allows. It will argue that much more can be said of the entwined histories of Nubia, Ethiopia, and the Latin Christians than is currently the dominant scholarly narrative.

Nubia, Ethiopia, and the Crusading World: The State of the Field

The direct connection between Nubia and the Crusades or Ethiopia and the Crusades is commonly rejected in Nubian and Ethiopian scholarship. This topic has occasionally appeared tangentially in more general histories, but few have focused on it specifically, and the period before 1402 has never been the focus of a book-length study. In Nubian Studies, Giovanni Vantini was the most vocal advocate for Nubian-Latin Christian interaction, particularly during the latter crusading period in the thirteenth century. Others, such as Peter Shinnie, Derek Welsby, and Effie Zacharopoulou, have dismissed the Crusades as an influential factor in Nubian history.[3] In Ethiopian Studies, a similar narrative rejecting Ethiopian-Latin Christian relations prior to the fifteenth century prevails on the grounds that the Crusades would only have brought negative consequences to Ethiopia, such as argued in the key histories of pre-Solomonic Ethiopia produced by Sergew Hable Sellassie and Marie-Laure Derat.[4] Nubian and Ethiopian ignorance of the Latin Christians, and vice versa, is the most common reason given in scholarship for dismissing possible relations between each group between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. This view, however, as will be shown throughout this book, is far too simplistic, and new perspectives can be offered by taking a more connected approach to the histories of Dotawo, Ethiopia, and the Crusades regarding more localised matters even beyond those able to be discussed here. For instance, such as offering avenues for further exploration between the physical and intellectual connectivity between Nubia and Ethiopia.

Crusades scholarship has fared better in acknowledging Latin Christian interactions with Nubians and Ethiopians, but not in assessing their consequences. Equally, the vast majority of these discussions have relied almost exclusively on Latin Christian sources. It has long been acknowledged that the Crusader States – the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Principality of Antioch, the County of Tripoli, and the County of Edessa established following the First Crusade (1096–9) – were home to a multitude of Eastern Christian permanent and semi-permanent communities, as well as non-permanent diasporas. The study of the relationship between the Latin Christians and these Eastern Christian groups has long been a feature in modern scholarship, though it has primarily centred around the question of the tolerance and intolerance of the relationship among Christians, Muslims, and Jews more broadly. For instance, Jonathan Riley-Smith posited that the implementation of a hybrid *dhimma* system by the Latin Christians enabled Eastern communities to carry on living peacefully whilst enforcing taxes on non-Christians, which resulted in the continuation of the way of life for many communities.[5] Yet, in relation to Christian communities, Christopher MacEvitt has argued that different Christian groups actively conducted their worship separately, despite sharing processional spaces, particularly during the twelfth century. Although this separation was not always the case – indeed, the opposite was sometimes portrayed as a sign of early Christian

unity in the Holy Land – tensions between groups would seemingly have naturally reduced the number of interactions in the Crusader States which also would have included African Christians.[6] However, MacEvitt's wider framing of inter-Christian societal relations within the Crusader States as 'rough tolerance' remains a problematic universalist description when the processes of inter-Christian knowledge dissemination are considered.[7] If knowledge dissemination and development appear to have been able to transcend supposed societal tensions and the narrative of inter-group isolation, can we really characterise inter-communal interactions within the Crusader States so rigidly or do we need to be much more nuanced? This is especially true when Nubians and Ethiopians are considered and what intellectual, political, and cultural role engagements with Latin Christians inspired.

Based on current archaeological data, Ronnie Ellenblum estimated that Latin Christians only constituted between 15% and 25% of the population of the Crusader States, though this fluctuated depending on the urban or rural setting.[8] A working relationship between various groups was therefore highly likely. The historiographical question of tolerance is more commonly framed regarding inter-faith, rather than intra-faith, relations. Arguably the most famous and retold story of positive Muslim-Latin Christian interaction is that of Usāmā ibn Munqiḏh, who narrated his time in Jerusalem in the early 1140s later in his life and emphasised the different outlooks between 'Eastern' Latin Christians and those venturing from Western Europe. He recalled how during one particular visit to the al-Ḥaram al-Šarīf, he was harassed by a Latin Christian newcomer to the city, particularly for praying towards Mecca. However, the Templars who controlled Temple Mount, who had also been respectful of his earlier visits, came to his aid and expelled the Latin Christian, highlighting how it was not uncommon for 'oriental' Latin Christians to have developed more positivist relationships with Eastern groups via a state of more prolonged interaction which 'occidental' Christians were not necessarily as accustomed to.[9] Indeed, such evidence has led to Suleiman Mourad recently explicitly calling for a reframing of the primary scholarly outlook of intolerance between Latin Christians and Muslims more generally during the Crusades.[10] Whilst Latin Christian relations with the Christian populations of the Holy Land may not necessarily mirror those of Latin Christian-Muslim relations, we should be wary about applying a stereotype to the Latin Christians as dismissive and intrusive to all groups they encountered. After all, what encouraged the change which led to 'occidentals' becoming 'orientals', as Fulcher of Chartres described within a generation of the First Crusade, if adopting local customs, dress, and language of both the local Muslim and Christian populations were not integral to daily life and, thus, enablers of exchange?[11]

Currently, studies analysing Latin Christian attitudes towards Eastern Christians in the Holy Land overwhelmingly focus only on resident Syrians, Armenians, or Greeks, leaving large lacunas detailing other Eastern Christian groups who similarly lived in the region; notably, Nubian and Ethiopian Christians.[12] Nubians and Ethiopians have often been overlooked in

discussions of inter-Christian relations in the Holy Land, with scholarship instead largely remaining focused on the question of the scale of their presence. The question of the scale of the Nubian and Ethiopian presence in the Holy Land has, however, transcended historiographical boundaries between Nubian, Ethiopian, and Crusades Studies. Since Enrico Cerulli's two-volume *Etiopi in Palestina* (1943–7), which documented the premodern presence of Ethiopians, and occasionally Nubians (or 'Ethiopians'), in the Holy Land, analysis of the scope and scale of the pre-fifteenth-century Ethiopian presence in the Holy Land – and increasingly the wider Mediterranean – has dominated over any similar discussion of Nubians.[13] Discussion of this earlier presence is most commonly presented through the comments made by Latin European observers, which almost exclusively only comment on populations in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth or, in the case of Egypt, Cairo and Alexandria. Many, however, only note the existence of populations, but do not specify beyond the general region. Unlike much of the current historiography on the question of the Nubian and Ethiopian presence, this study will also include discussion of non-Latin Christian sources, which challenges common narratives, notably whether the argument for an absence of Ethiopians in twelfth-century Jerusalem can truly be sustained. Moreover, what the Nubian and Ethiopian presence in the Holy Land, Egypt, and the wider Mediterranean, and the interactions that this inspired and facilitated, meant politically and intellectually for each of the Nubians, Ethiopians, and Latin Christians has received little study. It is the intention of this book to highlight how much more can be ascertained in scholarship beyond merely the scale of the presence of Nubians and Ethiopians in the Holy Land or Egypt and what consequences subsequent interactions had. Naturally, at the very least, increasing interactions informed each group more about the other. In this regard, this book is not the first study which highlights such knowledge development and builds on the shorter studies of Bernard Hamilton and Robin Seignobos. Both highlight how Latin Christian knowledge development of Nubia, especially, developed during the crusading era.[14] Importantly, this was in addition to the development of the explicitly Latin Christian myth of Prester John, the mythical Eastern Christian king who was long sought as an ally from the mid-twelfth century. Regrettably, sources for the Nubian and Ethiopian situation regarding their knowledge development of the Latin Christians remain too fragmented to offer a similarly sustained synthesis.

Nevertheless, it is the aim of this book to bring together these strands of scholarship and to offer a synthesis of events which have largely remained viewed as hitherto unconnected. Despite the limited evidence of African provenance for either Nubian or Ethiopian engagement with a particular crusade, there is still a narrative connecting Nubia, Ethiopia, and the wider crusading world to be told. Moreover, this regional interconnectivity should also be contextualised with events which happened in Nubia and Ethiopia. For instance, the Mamlūk pressure on Dotawo from the late thirteenth century, which is often thought of as the initial catalyst for Christian Nubia's

increasing decline and eventual collapse, takes on additional importance when viewed within the broader geopolitical context of the Crusades and Nubia's role within them, whether real or imagined by Egyptian commentators. Significantly, these events created a political and cultural vacuum that the newly emerged 'Ethiopia' of Solomonic Ethiopia could exploit from the fourteenth century by rivalling, and ultimately replacing, the original universal Christian Nubian 'Ethiopia'. Solomonic Ethiopia's adoption of the 'Ethiopian' identity became integral to the cementing of early Solomonic rule and, coincidently, the later successes of its diplomatic activities with Latin Europe. Neither of these processes should be viewed in isolation from what was happening in Nubia.

Navigating the Source Corpus

It is regrettable that so few contemporary relevant African textual sources have survived for such a study. Both Christian Nubia and Ethiopia were centres of manuscript production. However, sources from Nubia are largely theological, legal, or economic – whether written in Old Nubian, Coptic, Greek, or Arabic – with no example of a chronicle written in Dotawo known to date, thus limiting the Nubian evidence for discussing the Dotowan perspective regarding external affairs. The collapse of Dotawo during the sixteenth century has further hindered source survival over the subsequent centuries. Ethiopia, on the other hand, has surviving chronicles written in Gəʿəz, but none of these date to before the fourteenth century. Pre-fourteenth-century non-religious texts are rare, and those which have survived are primarily land grants, epigraphic material, or inscriptions on material culture. These often offer little for the study in question. Moreover, multiple turbulent events have destroyed collections of Ethiopia's many texts, such as the invasion of Aḥmed ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī in the mid-sixteenth century, during the Oromo migrations in the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries, and the destruction of the Gondar treasury (which housed many manuscripts) in the eighteenth century. Texts written in other regional languages, such as Arabic and Coptic, do help to supplement many lacunas, but they are still written by external observers outside of the Nubian or Ethiopian perspective. Nubian and Ethiopian collections outside of each kingdom offer little additional light on surviving texts either. For instance, it is difficult to attribute a text to a Nubian author because of Nubia's known multilingualism meaning that a text written in Greek, Coptic, or even Arabic, may have actually been produced by a Nubian, particularly within a monastic setting, such as at the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai.[15] Although Nubian monks were almost certainly present on Mount Sinai, no Old Nubian text is known to survive in the monastery's vast and varied multilingual collections. Ethiopian texts that are held in external monastic locations outside of Ethiopia, such as in Jerusalem or at Mount Sinai, offer a similarly limited picture because surviving texts only date from the late fourteenth century, even though an earlier Ethiopian presence at such locations is attested.

Despite these limitations, the combination of what is known, along with sources written in Latin, Greek, Arabic, Hebrew, Coptic, Syriac, and vernacular Western European languages from a variety of textual media, in addition to archaeology and epigraphy, reveal much more interaction between Nubians, Ethiopians, and Latin Christians during the crusading period than has hitherto been recognised. References to Nubia and Ethiopia in such material are often sporadic and appear in a range of media. The most systematic appearances of Nubia and Ethiopia in these texts are found in Arabic chronicles, which are often the largest external corpus for Nubian and Ethiopian history for this period. However, despite the variety of sources, most can only offer contextual information. The majority of the evidence about Nubian and Ethiopian relations with Latin Christians prior to 1402 comes from a Latin Christian perspective. Information about Nubia and Ethiopia appears in a variety of Latin Christian texts, ranging from chronicles, itineraries, letters, cartographical legends, military plans, encyclopaedias, and papal decrees, to name but a few. Many references appear only in passing and often mask the extent of interaction, yet the volume of references in Latin Christian texts to interactions far outnumber those which appear in other language sources. As a result, readers should be aware that it is not always possible to narrate all sources equally, as often we are dealing with brief and sporadic references, rather than expansive descriptions. The Latin Christian perspective of this relationship, both real and imagined, therefore dominates the evidence base for the current work, but where possible, Nubian and Ethiopian perspectives will be offered. There are independent discourses for etymology in each of these textual cultures, thus toponyms and ethnonyms will be transliterated and accompanied by the original text in order to clarify the discussion for both specialists and non-specialists alike. Where possible, in order to increase accessibility to readers, all original language source analyses will also be accompanied by a reference to a published translation in a modern language, primarily in English, or, alternatively, in either French or, in some cases, Italian, or German, if known.[16]

Whilst we may be restricted in gaining many insights into Nubian and Ethiopian understanding of the Latin Christians prior to the fifteenth century from Nubian and Ethiopian sources, we must distinguish between the registers of knowledge within the Latin Christian intellectual corpus of the kingdoms. As Latin Christian texts dominate the source corpus for the study of Nubian-Latin Christian and Ethiopian-Latin Christian relations for the period in question, it is necessary to outline how they relate to Latin Christian discourses on race, though this is not a primary concern of this book for reasons outlined next. This book distinguishes between the two parallel understandings of Africa which Valentin-Yves Mudimbe ascribed to external discourse on Africa prior to colonialism – the physical gnosis and the ideological or cultural interpretations attributed to Africa.[17] Here, the discussion will focus solely on developing gnosis of Africa or, in other words, the developing Latin Christian experiential and empirical knowledge of premodern Africa – namely, of Nubia and Ethiopia. It will not, therefore, focus on

knowledge which was overtly influenced by cultural ideology or other intellectual genres, such as the works concerned with the so-called Wonders of the East, which were often created by authors who had little or no actual direct engagement with the world and peoples they were describing. This is particularly important as, with the exception of the rhetoric employed by writers associated with the First Crusade before 'Ethiopians' were discussed as fellow Christians, the knowledge of Nubia and Ethiopia represents a specific development in gnosis. Non-Christian 'Ethiopians', who were commonly viewed conceptually, were unconnected to these kingdoms and it was these who featured in the multiple Latin Christian cultural discourses of difference in theological symbolism, art, and literature. Even when such 'Ethiopians' are sometimes associated with Christianity, particularly in literature, it is to present one or more characters of reformed virtuous values rather than to act as an historical or contemporary commentary. The 'ideological infrastructure' or, indeed, cultural infrastructure, to expand on Debra Strickland's term, which shaped Latin Christian discourse on non-Christians, including non-Christian 'Ethiopia', did not identically shape Latin Christian discourse on Christian 'Ethiopians' from the twelfth century.[18] A distinction must be made, as it was by contemporaries, between the real Christian 'Ethiopian' and the conceptual generic continental 'Ethiopian'.

Scholarly discussion of the Latin Christian conceptualisation of race and/or blackness rarely distinguishes between different discourses concerning non-Christian and Christian Africa. 'Ethiopians' are nominally framed as only being non-Christians who were often depicted as being physically removed from the Latin Christian centre and became symbols of alterity.[19] Whilst this may be true from a conceptual point of view, it is important to note that Nubians and Ethiopians were not similar etiological 'symbolic' or 'phantasmic' embodiments of sin or other negative non-Christian traits, which instructed many forms of medieval Latin Christian constructions of race which centred on religious difference.[20] The question of familiarity remains key to the discussion. For instance, Lynn Ramey openly framed her study of medieval colour prejudice and its legacy in the form of racism as something 'directed toward the unknown person or culture' and that Latin Christian prejudicial attitudes to blackness were 'precisely because of their skin colo[u]r and their usually imagined, always unfamiliar, cultural practices'.[21] If constructs of race, and by extension racism, were framed solely against the unfamiliar, what happens when the supposedly unfamiliar become familiar? Even though some Latin Christian writers did critique Nubian and Ethiopian Christianity as schismatic, they were not non-Christians and therefore did not become associated with a biopolitical construction of race and theological narratives of ordered hereditary inferiority which were applied to non-Christians.[22] Significantly, the closing of distance between Latin Christians and other groups often reduced the power that Latin Christians attributed to certain groups. This was the case, for instance, for the Mongols and sixteenth-century Ethiopia as the Latin Christians chased, and eventually reached, the believed lands of Prester John before finding him to be absent,

which resulted in their diminishing importance in Latin Christian discourse.[23] However, the opposite was true as Nubians and Latin Christians increasingly interacted. Indeed, the importance which came to be placed on Nubia and Ethiopia by Latin Christians challenges our scholarly narratives of the processes behind the Latin Christian construction of race, power, and difference just as it did for them. If modern studies lack the required nuance when discussing Latin Christian understandings of non-Christian broader 'Ethiopia' and the Christian 'Ethiopia', they will continue to erase the role of Christian Africans in framing and challenging Latin Christian constructions of race.

Illustrative of the conflation between Nubia, Ethiopia, and 'Ethiopia' in a premodern race studies context can be found in their respective unnuanced discussion within literature. For example, Geraldine Heng has stated how the non-Christian African kingdoms of *Zazamanc* and *Azagouc* acted as 'virtual stand-ins for Ethiopia/Abyssinia/Nubia' in Wolfram of Eschenbach's thirteenth-century romance *Parzival*. This statement was also made despite acknowledging that this period coincided with an expansion in Latin Christian knowledge of the Christian realms.[24] Whilst Heng's discussion of blackness and the non-Christian world in the text reflects a common portrayal in Latin Christian literary cultures and is not contested here, it should not be associated with the Christian kingdoms. It is this conflation which requires much more nuance and which underpins the need to make better distinctions between Latin Christian discourses concerning Christian and non-Christian Africans. Indeed, the etymology of Zazamanc and Azagouc, as far as they may even have had a geographical origin in Africa, are best explained by Arabic toponyms elsewhere in Africa. For instance, if we view Azagouc alongside some of the other ways the toponym appears in the text – most illustratively: *Azagowe*, *das Sagowe* – it would appear reasonable to suggest that its origin is actually more likely to be found in an understanding of the common prominent Arabic ethnonym of the Zaghāwa who were commonly associated with Kānem, a Muslim kingdom neighbouring Lake Chad. The lifting or manipulation of Arabic African toponyms and ethnonyms into Latin Christian texts was certainly not limited to these two examples as we will see, such as in the cases of Raymond of Marseille, Ramon Llull, and Marino Sanudo and his cartographer Pietro Vesconte. Moreover, contemporary texts, both documentary and literary, do begin to refer to the lands of Nubia, 'Ethiopia', or 'Abyssinia' explicitly by the end of the twelfth century. For instance, the Nubian characters in the First and Second Old French Crusade Cycles of *chansons*, which actually first begin to be conceived in the earliest decades following the First Crusade, are explicitly described as 'of Nubia' (*de Nubie*).[25] To continue to portray Latin Christian views of Christian and non-Christian Africa as synonymous would be an oversimplification. Therefore, whilst this study does not intend to directly situate itself within the literature on medieval race and racism, it does seek to provide an additional historical narrative to consider concerning Christian Africa in light of its growing importance to Latin Christendom from the twelfth century which did not reduce Christian Africans to metaphors of symbolic difference.

Shirin Khanmohamadi, regarding Orientalism and medieval ethnography, has argued that 'dialogism [in texts] tests rather than serves unstated cultural assumptions'.[26] In other words, increased familiarity with different peoples challenged Latin Christian writers to better understand the world beyond their own intellectual space. Noted observations did not necessarily reflect a writer's supposed biases. Importantly, the oft-found Latin Christian position of disempowerment in the East due to their lack of population should not be overlooked. Indeed, Latin Christians were often not in a position to uphold political and cultural hegemony in the Holy Land. Therefore, to frame the following study by those mechanisms which currently underpin scholarship on Latin Christian constructions of race in this instance would undermine the influential and active role of the Christian Africans themselves. It would overstate both the real and imagined realities of the position of Latin societies within the Crusader States and once again centre on a common Euro-centric narrative. Even when Latin Christian sources vastly outnumber Nubian or Ethiopian sources, this narrative can still be challenged. The development of empirical knowledge about Christian Africa enhanced the importance of Nubia and Ethiopia in Latin Christian discourse, rather than attributing negative traits to Christian Africans. This was often the case even beyond the Crusader States back in Western Europe. Significantly, Nubian/Ethiopian-Latin Christian discourse was not framed within an umbrella of power that was only held by the Latin Christians. That is not to say that ideas of race were completely non-existent in the works cited herein, whether pertaining to Christian Africans or otherwise, but that it is necessary to present studies which recentre real engagement between Latin Christendom and (Christian) Africa and the discourses that this shaped away from the decentred conceptual Africans who most commonly provide the basis for discussion in studies of Latin Christian medieval constructs of race and perceptions of blackness.

This book argues that Nubians, and then later Ethiopians, were explicitly sought as allies by the Latin Christians but only engaged on their own terms, with contrasting results. It demonstrates this based on six chapters. The first offers evidence for a clearer identification of 'Ethiopia' with Nubia when viewed alongside Ethiopian sources and provides a key narrative for the remainder of the discussion. The second chapter presents what can be gleaned regarding the known understanding between Nubia, Ethiopia, and Latin Christendom around the time of the First Crusade. Upon the establishment of the Crusader States, the third chapter discusses the many known and potential interactions between Nubians, Ethiopians, and Latin Christians, as well as other intermediaries, in the Holy Land and beyond which likely encouraged knowledge development of each other. Chapter 4 presents a discussion of Prester John within a Nubian and Ethiopian narrative and how the Latin Christian belief in the prester not only seemingly migrated from Asia to Africa but also within Africa. Even though the Nubian and Ethiopian identity of Prester John was in its infancy throughout the period in question here, the existence of the myth must be viewed

alongside motivations for Latin Christian desires to engage with Nubia and, later, Ethiopia. Chapter 5 discusses how the Latin Christians attempted to engage with Dotawo, or the idea of Nubia more broadly, before beginning to turn their attentions to Ethiopia. The sixth and final chapter seeks to present a narrative of Nubian and Ethiopian responses to the Latin Christian efforts and the regional geopolitical changes brought by the Crusades from the surviving evidence up until the arrival of the Ethiopian embassy to Venice in 1402. As far as the surviving sources suggest, seeking this engagement proved to be much more important for the Latin Christians than it did for either Nubia or Ethiopia, yet their analysis will show that the broader events of the Crusades had a much more profound geopolitical effect upon Nubia and Ethiopia than has previously been thought. Above all, this book seeks to highlight a much greater need to avoid continuing to largely view the histories of Dotawo (Nubia), Ethiopia, and the Crusades in isolation of each other. However, it must be made clear that the limitation of bringing together three largely separate historiographical fields has resulted in not being able to always fully emphasise the significance of themes and events within each field, such as the role of Prester John in Latin Europe, the 1172 Ayyūbid invasion of northern Dotawo as a 'turning point' in the history of Christian Nubia, or the anachronistic association with external references to 'Ethiopia' to the highland Ethiopian kingdom before at least 1270, if not c.1320, to those who may be more unfamiliar or new to one or more of the fields and the content under discussion. Much of the content presented here is not individually unknown to either one or more of the three fields of study; however, the intention of this book is not necessarily to offer new, unpublished evidence, but, rather, to offer a reframing of the current corpus to provide a platform for future work. As such, this book intends to weave together elements of a shared history to hopefully inspire more discussion founded on a narrative of connections within a new historiographical reframing. Undoubtedly, there will be many more connections to be uncovered with further study.

Notes

1 V. Krebs, *Medieval Ethiopia Kingship, Craft, and Diplomacy with Latin Europe* (Basingstoke, 2021).
2 M. Salvadore, *The African Prester John and the Birth of Ethiopian-European Relations, 1402–1555* (Abingdon, 2016).
3 G. Vantini, 'Sur l'eventualite de rapports entre le concile de Lyon (1274) et la Nubie', in *Études nubienne: Colloque de Chantilly, 2–6 Juillet 1975*, eds. J. Leclant and J. Vercoutter (Cairo, 1978), pp. 337–45; G. Vantini, *Christianity in the Sudan* (Bologna, 1981), pp. 131, 158, 172–3, 185–6, 193; P. L. Shinnie, 'Christian Nubia and the Crusades', *Nubica*, I/II, (1990), pp. 603–9; D. A. Welsby, *The Medieval Kingdoms of Nubia: Pagans, Christians and Muslims in the Middle Nile* (London, 2002), pp. 76–7; E. Zacharopoulou, 'Μια ερμηνευτικη προσεγγιση της σχεσης της χριστιανικης νουβιας με τους σταυροφορους', *Ekklesiastikos Pharos N.S. 24*, 95 (2013), pp. 107–30; E. Zacharopoulou, 'Ο σουλτάνος Baybars και η Νουβία υπό το πρίσμα των σταυροφοριών: μια κριτική προσέγγιση', in *Greece, Rome, Byzantium*

and Africa: Studies Presented to Benjamin Hendrickx on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday, eds. W. J. Henderson and E. Zacharopoulou (Johannesburg, 2014), pp. 389–414.

4   Sergew Hable Sellassie, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270* (Addis Ababa, 1972), 261; M.-L. Derat, *L'énigme d'une dynastie sainte et usurpatrice dans le royaume chrétien d'Éthiopie du XIᵉ au XIIIᵉ siècle* (Turnhout, 2018), pp. 182–5.

5   J. Riley-Smith, 'Government and the Indigenous in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', in *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, eds. D. Abulafia and N. Berend (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 121–31. Such a society seemingly explains the Frankish 'regime of silence' in the sources: C. MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance* (Philadelphia, 2008), pp. 100–35.

6   C. MacEvitt, 'Processing Together, Celebrating Apart: Shared Processions in the Latin East', *JMH*, 44.4 (2018), pp. 455–69.

7   MacEvitt, *Crusades and the Christian World*.

8   R. Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 2002).

9   Usāma ibn Munqidh, *Kitāb al-l'tibār*, ed. P. K. Hitti (Princeton, 1930), pp. 134–5 (text); Usama ibn Munqidh, *The Book of Contemplation: Islam and the Crusades*, trans. P. M. Cobb (London, 2008), 147 (trans.).

10 S. A. Mourad, 'A Critique of the Scholarly Outlook of the Crusades: The Case for Tolerance and Coexistence', in *Syria in Crusader Times: Conflict and Co-Existence*, ed. C. Hillenbrand (Edinburgh, 2020), pp. 144–60.

11 Fulcheri Cartonensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana (1095–1127): Mit Erläuterungen und einem Anhange,* ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), Book III Ch. 37, pp. 747–9 (text); Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095–1127,* trans. F. R. Ryan with an introduction by H. S. Fink (Knoxville, 1969), 271 (trans.). See J. Vandeburie, '"Maugré li Polein": European Migration to the Latin East and the Construction of an Oriental Identity in the Crusader States', in *Migration and Migrant Identities in the Near East from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, eds. J. Yoo, A. Zerbini, and C. Barron (Abingdon, 2019), pp. 244–61.

12 See, for example: R. B. Rose, 'The Native Christians of Jerusalem, 1187–1260', in *Horns of Hattin: Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Society for the study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Jerusalem and Haifa 2–6 July, 1987*, ed. B. Z. Kedar (Jerusalem, 1992), pp. 239–49; B. Z. Kedar, 'Latins and Oriental Christians in the Frankish Levant, 1099–1291', in *Sharing the Sacred: Religious Contacts and Conflicts in the Holy Land*, eds. A. Kofsky and G. G. Stroumsa (Jerusalem, 1998), pp. 209–22; J. Pahlitzsch and D. Weltecke, 'Konflikte zwischen den nicht-lateinischen Kirchen im Königreich Jerusalem', in *Jerusalem im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter: Konflikte und Konfliktbewältigung – Vorstellungen und Vergegenwärtigungen*, eds. D. Bauer, K. Herbers, and N. Jaspert (Frankfurt am Main, 2001), pp. 119–45; Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement*, pp. 119–44; MacEvitt, *Crusades and the Christian World*; D. Jacoby, 'Intercultural Encounters in a Conquered Land: The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in *Europa im Geflecht der Welt: Mittelalterliche Migrationen in globalen Bezügen*, eds. M. Borgolte, J. Dücker, M. Müllerburg, P. Predatsch, and B. Schneidmüller (Berlin, 2012), pp. 133–54; A. Murray, 'Franks and Indigenous Communities in Palestine and Syria (1099–1187): A Hierarchical Model of Social Interaction in the Principalities of Outremer', in *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World*, ed. A. Classen (Berlin, 2013), pp. 291–309; B. D. Boehm and M. Holcomb, 'Pluralism in the Holy City' and J. Folda, 'Sharing the Church of the Holy Sepulchre During the Crusader Period', in *Jerusalem 1000–1400: Every People Under Heaven*, eds. B. D. Boehm and M. Holcomb (New Haven, 2016), pp. 65–76, 131–3; Mourad, 'A Critique'.

13 For Ethiopians, see E. Cerulli, *Etiopi in Palestina: Storia della comunità etiopica di Gerusalemme*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1943–7); K. Petracek, 'Äthiopier in Jerusalem in den

tschechischen Reisebeschreibungen des XV und XVI Jahrhunderts', *Archivi Orientalny*, 26.3 (1958), pp. 347–65; O. Meinardus, 'The Ethiopians in Jerusalem', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 76 (1965), pp. 112–22, 217–31; A.-D. von den Brincken, *Die 'Nationes christianorum orientalium' im Verständnis der lateinischen Historiographie: Von der Mitte des 12. bis in die zweite Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne, 1973), pp. 262–72; E. van Donzel, 'The Ethiopian Presence in Jerusalem Until 1517', in *The Third International Conference on Bilad al-Sham: Palestine 19–24 April 1980*, ed. Y. al-Yarmuk, 3 vols. (Amman, 1983–4), pp. I:93–104; A. O'Mahony, 'Between Islam and Christendom: The Ethiopian Community in Jerusalem Before 1517', *Medieval Encounters*, 2.2 (1996), pp. 140–54; E. van Donzel, 'Ethiopia's Lalibäla and the Fall of Jerusalem 1187', *Aethiopica*, 1 (1998), pp. 27–49; E. van Donzel, 'Were There Ethiopians in Jerusalem at the Time of Saladin's Conquest in 1187?', in *East and West in the Crusader States: Context – Contacts – Confrontations*, eds. K. Ciggaar, A., Davids, and H. Teule, 3 vols. (Leuven, 1996–2003), pp. II:125–30; A. O'Mahony, 'Pilgrims, Politics and Holy Places: The Ethiopian Community in Jerusalem Until ca. 1650', in *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, ed. L. I. Levine (New York, 2004), pp. 467–81; K. Stoffregen Pedersen, 'The Ethiopian Community in Jerusalem Under Mamluke Rule (1260–1516)', in *Ethiopian Studies at the End of the Second Millennium: Proceedings of the XIVᵗʰ International Conference of Ethiopian Studies: November 6–11, 2000, Addis Ababa*, eds. B. Yimam, R. Pankhurst, D. Chapple, Y. Admassu, A. Pankhurst, and B. Teferra, 3 vols. (Addis Ababa, 2002), pp. I: 267–74; J. Pahlitzsch and D. Baraz, 'Christian Communities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099–1187 CE)', in *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land: From the Origins to the Latin Kingdoms*, eds. O. Limor and G. G. Stroumsa (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 230–1; A. O'Mahony, '"Making Safe the Holy Way": Ethiopian Pilgrim and Monastic Presence in the 14th–16th Century Egypt and Jerusalem', *Aram: Society for Syro-Mesopotamian Studies*, 18–19 (2006–7), pp. 711–26; S. Kelly, 'Medieval Ethiopian Diasporas', in *A Companion to Medieval Ethiopia and Eritrea*, ed. S. Kelly (Leiden, 2020), pp. 425–53. For Nubians, see O. F. A. Meinardus, 'The Christian Kingdoms of Nubia', *Nubie – Cahiers d'Histoire Égyptienne*, 10 (1967), pp. 159–64; von Den Brincken, *Nationes*, pp. 243–53; D. Ceccarelli Morolli, 'Le fonti occidentali medeivali sulla presenza nubiana in Gerusalemme', *Studia Orientalia Christiana: Collectanea*, 32 (1999), pp. 5–60; D. Ceccarelli Morolli, 'Richerche de ipotesi circa la 'Cappella Nubiana' in Gerusalemme', in *Acta Nubica: Proceedings of the Tenth International Conference of Nubian Studies*, eds. I. Caneva and A. Roccati (Rome, 2006), pp. 327–36; A. Simmons, 'A Note towards Quantifying the Medieval Nubian Diaspora', *Dotawo: A Journal of Nubian Studies*, 6 (2019), pp. 23–39.

14 For example, see B. Hamilton, 'The Lands of Prester John: Western Knowledge of Asia and Africa at the Time of the Crusades', *Haskins Society Journal*, 15 (2006), pp. 127–41; R. Seignobos, 'L'autre Ethiopie: La Nubie et la Croisades (XIIᵉ–IVᵉ siècle)', *Annales d'Éthiopie*, 27 (2012), pp. 49–69; B. Hamilton, 'The Crusades and North-East Africa', in *Crusading and Warfare in the Middle Ages: Realities and Representations: Essays in Honour of John France*, eds. S. John and N. Morton (Farnham, 2014), pp. 167–80. Peter Holt did include a discussion of Nubia in his history of the Crusades over three decades ago, though as an adjacent, rather than an explicitly connected, history: P. M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades: The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517* (London, 1986), pp. 130–7.

15 Grzegorz Ochała has highlighted such observations and the problems it can pose, see G. Ochała, 'Multilingualism in Christian Nubia', *Dotawo*, 1 (2014), pp. 3–4.

16 References to translations are for accessibility. It is not the intention here to engage with debates concerning their respective readings. All sources will be clearly labelled as the reference to the text or the translation. If the text is not

clearly indicated, the reference will be to the text in its original language with an adequate translation not known to the author.

17 V. Y. Mudimbe, *The Idea of Africa* (London, 1994).

18 D. H. Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton, 2003), 42.

19 It was a reflection of this precise reasoning which was given by Benjamin Isaac for his omission of the systematic treatment of 'Ethiopians' in his work on race in antiquity, who he claimed were viewed more mythically by ancient Latin and Greek authors, whereas his work was concerned more with peoples who were directly engaged with: B. Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (Princeton, 2004), pp. 49–50.

20 For such symbolic or 'phantasmic' discussions, see, for example: G. L. Byron, *Symbolic Blackness and Ethnic Difference in Early Christian Literature* (London, 2002); D. M. Goldenberg, *The Curse of Ham: Race and Slavery in Early Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Princeton, 2005); G. Heng, *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2018), pp. 42–5, 181–256; C. J. Whitaker, *Black Metaphors: How Modern Racism Emerged from Medieval Race-Thinking* (Philadelphia, 2019). For some examples of other textual discourses on Africa and Africans in Latin Christendom, see F. de Medeiros, *L'Occident et l'Afrique (XIIIe-XVe siècle): Images et représentations* (Paris, 1985), pp. 171–266.

21 L. T. Ramey, *Black Legacies: Race and the European Middle Ages* (Gainesville, 2014), 1.

22 On the concept of the biopolitical and medieval race construction, see Heng, *Invention*, 3, and discussion therein. For the latter, see M. Lindsay Kaplan, *Figuring Racism in Medieval Christianity* (Oxford, 2019).

23 A. Knobler, 'The Power of Distance: The Transformation of European Perceptions of Self and Other, 1100–1600', *Medieval Encounters*, 19 (2013), pp. 434–80.

24 Heng, *Invention*, pp. 192–200.

25 For examples, see A. Simmons, 'The Changing Depiction of the Nubian King in Crusader Songs in an Age of Expanding Knowledge', in *Les Croisades en Afrique*, ed. B. Weber (Toulouse, 2019), pp. 25–48.

26 S. A. Khanmohamadi, *In Light of Another's Word: European Ethnography in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 2014), 146.

1 The Definition of Ethiopia through Time and Place

Today, the modern country of Ethiopia takes its name from an Ancient Greek toponym (*Aithiopia*/Αἰθιοπία), both by Ethiopians themselves and across the world. However, the Gəʿəz/Amharic toponym *ʾItyop̣ya* (ኢትዮጵያ) was not adopted within Ethiopia until the arrival of the Solomonic dynasty in 1270, neither in Dˤmt (c. ninth century BCE–c. first century BCE), ʾAksum (c. first century BCE–c. eighth century CE), nor the Zagʷe kingdom of Bəgʷəna (c. 900/c. 1140–1270). Nor was being 'Ethiopian' applied as an endonym until after 1270 in surviving Ethiopian Gəʿəz sources. It was only from the fourteenth century that Ethiopia also began to increasingly universally be considered 'Ethiopia' by external observers as a result of this developing internal identity discourse within Ethiopia, though not by all immediately. The earliest external recognition of this new Ethiopian identity is found in Latin European sources, with other textual traditions, such as Arabic and Hebrew, maintaining their historic toponyms for the kingdom for some time – *al-Ḥabaša* (الحبشة) and *Ḥabaš* (חבש) – despite both modern Arabic and Hebrew now using *ʾĀthyūbīā* (أثيوبيا) and *ʾEtiyowpiyah* (אתיופיה) for the country, respectively. These latter developments are beyond the scope of this book; however, this chapter aims to discuss why and how Ethiopia adopted this toponym and what regional significance it had, particularly for the original ancient, and especially biblical, 'Ethiopia', the geo-cultural region of Nubia. That is not to say that Ethiopia's fourteenth-century adoption of the toponym, which coincided with the burgeoning relationship between Nubia and the Latin Christians, was purposefully responding to this dynamic, but it did have unintended consequences. Notably, as far as the Latin Christians were concerned, upon the arrival of the first Ethiopian embassy to Latin Europe in 1402, they were building on prior efforts to already engage with an 'Ethiopia'. The Nubian 'Ethiopia' was replaced by Ethiopia. A happy coincidence that the Ethiopians were quickly made aware of and then able to exploit to achieve their own aims. The transferal of the 'Ethiopian' identity of Nubia to Ethiopia had significant effects, both regionally and beyond, as Solomonic Ethiopia replaced the increasingly declining and stunted Nubia.

In scholarship, 'Ethiopia's' Nubian identification, whilst acknowledged, is often overlooked for its significance in this development in favour of a more direct development between the classical Greco-Latin *Aithiopia*/*Aethiopia* and

ʾ*Ityoṗya*.[1] Therefore, tracing the development of the toponym 'Ethiopia', both within and beyond north-east Africa, is critical for understanding the sources discussed within this book to show why the Nubian identification of 'Ethiopia' is central to understanding the context that fifteenth-century Ethiopian-Latin Christian relations were building on, specifically those of attempted Nubian 'Ethiopian'-Latin Christian relations. Moreover, Solomonic Ethiopia's adoption of this new identity effectively replaced Nubia as the new biblical Ethiopia, including both its associated historical and contemporary discourses. It was not merely the adoption of a name either. For instance, as will be noted later in this chapter, the new Solomonic rulers also began to portray themselves as the defenders of the wider region's Christians, a role traditionally considered to be that of the Nubian ruler. The Ethiopian adoption of the toponym initially confused matters for the Latin Christians. Since the twelfth century, Nubia and 'Abyssinia' were clearly known to be separate by the Latin Christians. Nevertheless, it would appear to be no coincidence that once Ethiopia projected itself as 'Ethiopia' and this had become known to the Latin Christians, a clear shift can be witnessed in Latin Christian sources which begin to commonly transfer the meaning of the toponym from Nubia to Ethiopia from the latter half of the fourteenth century. However, once fifteenth-century Ethiopian-Latin Christian relations began to prosper, it no longer mattered to the Latin Christians whether they were dealing with Nubians or Ethiopians, consistent engagement with 'Ethiopia', comparatively speaking, was finally achieved. Above all, the discussion within this chapter aims to highlight that scholarship must be wary of not erasing discussion of Nubia in favour of an uncritical assumption of Ethiopia – whether ʾAksum, Bəgʷəna, or Solomonic Ethiopia – as a result of the success of the Solomonic adoption of the 'Ethiopian' biblical identity and the dominance of the identification of 'Ethiopia' as Ethiopia began to have in early modern European discourse – and its explicit association with 'Abyssinia' – particularly when discussing pre-fourteenth-century uses of *Aithiopia/Aethiopia* when other material, not least that produced by Ethiopians themselves, is taken into consideration.

What Was 'Ethiopia'? The Legacies of Greek Geography and Navigating the Parallel Kush

The word 'Ethiopia', or more precisely 'Ethiopian' (*ai-ti-jo-qo*), is first recorded as the personal name, which was possibly acting as an ethnonym, of a landholder and official of various roles in the collection of Mycenaean texts of varying length written in Linear B known as the Pylos tablets (from the city in south-western Greece). These texts date to before c. 1200 BCE, though little more can be said with any surety regarding the word's original etymology before it became recorded in Ancient Greek.[2] It is often stated that 'Ethiopia' originally described the land of the people with 'scorched faces' more generally, being a combination of the Greek *aíthō* (αἴθω, 'to scorch') and *ṓps* (ὤψ, 'face'), which could be applied generally across the lands of

Saharan/Sahelian Africa similar to the comparative Tamaziɣt and Arabic toponyms *Akal n-Iguinawen* and *Bilād al-Sūdān*, respectively. Subsequently, the land of 'Ethiopia' became popularised with its transmission in Greek (Αἰθιοπία) and Latin (*Aethiopia*) texts. This etymology has been most substantially challenged by R. S. P. Beekes, and even earlier briefly by J. R. R. Tolkien, who both have argued, linguistically speaking, that such an origin cannot be possible as both *aithiō* and *ṓps* do not naturally join together to create a toponym meaning those with 'burnt faces' (the most common translation of the phrase).[3] Beekes even goes as far as to suggest that the *Aithíopes* (Αἰθίοπες) (sing. *Aithíops*, Αἰθίοψ) were originally a people neighbouring Greece and their secondary association with 'burnt-faced' people of Africa developed via the popularisation of a later folk etymology, not least on account of the absence of any association with Africa or skin colour in the earliest Greek works, such as those of Homer (fl. by c. 800 BCE).[4] Skin colour does not become an explicit signifier of 'Ethiopian' identity in known surviving texts until Herodotus (fl. fifth century BCE), though it is implied a century earlier.[5] 'Ethiopia''s associations with darkness were a continual linguistic theme and also later appeared during the medieval period in other forms, such as in the explanation given by the Englishman Gervase of Tilbury (fl. c. 1209–14), who wrote that 'Ethiopia' was called so because of its darkness (*tenebre*), though without any further explicit reference to its people.[6] Alternatively, 'Ethiopia' was also commonly said to have been named after a figure or place. For instance, according to Pliny the Elder in the first century CE, 'Ethiopia' was named after Aethiops, a son of Hephaestus, the Greek god of fire, blacksmiths, and other artisans.[7] This association may have something to do with Hephaestus' role in providing weaponry to King Memnon and his 'Ethiopian' army in his aid of Troy in the *Aithiopís* (Αἰθιοπίς), the now almost completely lost eighth-century BCE Ancient Greek epic which tells of the events following the *Iliad*. Too little is known about the contents of the *Aithiopís* to understand Pliny's assertion any further if, indeed, that is the origin of his reference. In contrast to Pliny, Honorius Augustodunensis claimed in his *Imago Mundi* (wr. c. 1110–39) that 'Ethiopia' was actually named after the biblical site of Etham.[8] Whatever the case, the early development of the toponym of 'Ethiopia' remains obscure. Undoubtedly, its origin will continue to spur debate.

The historic broadness of the pre-Christian Greek understanding of 'Ethiopia' continued to influence later Greco-Latin Christian writers, notably regarding an eastern and western 'Ethiopia', even beyond the period which began to initially identify 'Ethiopia' as Ethiopia from the fourteenth century. It is here where it is important to distinguish between the broad and localised 'Ethiopias'. Western 'Ethiopia', which usually encompassed the region of the wider Sahara, is not the concern here, as West and Central Africa continued to be labelled with the toponym of 'Ethiopia' even after the arrival of the Portuguese in the fifteenth century and the employment of the toponym is more reflective of geographical traditions, rather than necessarily revealing developing contemporary knowledge, which is the primary focus of this

book. Eastern 'Ethiopia', or the more localised biblical 'Ethiopia', on the other hand, is key to the discourses discussed here. This 'Ethiopia' was understood primarily through the prism of biblical tradition which located it in relation to the River Nile (the biblical Gehon) and the ancient history of Sudan. Importantly, this classical 'Ethiopia' was not indicative of the kingdom which later became known as Ethiopia. How, then, did an 'Ethiopia' which centred on Sudan come to be adopted by the country known today as Ethiopia? Furthermore, how did many 'Ethiopias' become one? This process was to have profound local, regional, and international significance. However, before continuing, the fragmentation of 'Ethiopias' cannot be discussed without also addressing their relationship with 'India', though the question itself is far too great to discuss here in adequate depth. The central significance of this question for the perception of geography rests on the ancient and medieval Greco-Latin conception of the Nile dividing 'India' and 'Ethiopia' (or Asia and Africa), rather than the Red Sea; some of Africa was actually deemed to be in Asia.[9]

The confusion of African and Indian 'Ethiopias', or at least the enhancement of this confusion, was influenced by the Greek translation of 'Kush'. Whilst certain confusions existed in some earlier texts, the third-century BCE Greek Septuagint translated the *Kūš* (כוש) of the Hebrew Old Testament into *Aithiopia* (Αἰθιοπία), which ultimately became *Aethiopia* in Latin and precipitated the notion of an 'Ethiopia' with multiple origins.[10] Pierre Schneider has suggested how the Mesopotamian toponym of *Meluḫḫa* (𒈨𒇻𒈞) appears to have been used to denote both northern India and the south of Egypt/Sudan.[11] As Schneider further highlights, this is important when understanding the Hebrew use of *Kūš* (כוש) in the Old Testament, which was susceptible to similar multiple definitions, especially when writers confused it with *Kiš* (קיש), the toponym for the region of ancient Babylonia, thus creating an equally African and Asian 'Kush'. Specifically, some translators came to attribute Kush as equally referring to the *K³š* of Nubia in Egyptian sources or the similarly sounding *Kaššu* who ruled Babylonia in the second half of the second millennium BCE in Cuneiform sources.[12] Any geographical nuance of the toponyms in the Greek, and later Latin, biblical translations, which treated 'Kush' as an all-encompassing toponym – now 'Ethiopia' – however, was lost.[13] 'Ethiopia' was used for both locations of 'Kush' regardless of the geographical context of the biblical text. It is precisely this employment of 'Ethiopia' in Greco-Latin biblical discourse which underpinned medieval Latin Christian conceptions of either a single 'Ethiopia' or multiple 'Ethiopias'. Certainly, by the European medieval period, Latin Christian writers were explicitly aware that biblical 'Ethiopia' originated from its roots from *Kūš*, via Hebrew.[14]

'India' also developed its own separate discourse, both connected and isolated from the multiple 'Ethiopias'.[15] Although this does aid in understanding the apparent confusion in multiple 'Ethiopias', it does not help to explain the continuity of such confusions when the contemporary knowledge corpus was not so confused. This can be best viewed as a linguistic hang-up, similar

to the modern Anglophone use of the West Indies for the Caribbean despite knowing that the area has no connection to India proper. Indeed, seemingly confusing toponyms can often be contextualised once accompanying information is taken into account. Hugh of St. Victor's *Descriptio Mappe Mundi* (c. 1130), for instance, has six distinct toponyms when discussing 'Ethiopia' and 'India' – *Ethiopia*, *Ethiopica India*, *Ethiopica Egyptus*, *India que finem facit*, *India que mittit ad Medos*, and *India que mittit ad Parthos* – yet geographical features and towns mentioned in individual passages aid in textual clarification and localisation.[16] Often, the confusion of toponyms remains superficial upon closer examination, leading to scholars, such as Anne-Dorothee von den Brincken, concluding that, generally, toponyms, such as *India Aegypti* and *India Aethiopie*, can be seen to be placed within north-east/east Africa, whereas Indias *prima*, *secunda*, *tertia*, *superior*, and *inferior*, were placed within Asia.[17] The context in which the toponym is found in a text can often lead to the identification of the region in discussion. This linguistic confusion is even more surprising given that both north-east Africa and India were well-connected within the ancient world. In fact, some have argued that it was indeed this connection that was the root cause for the later confusion. For example, at the first International Conference for Ethiopian Studies in 1959, Enrico Cerulli posited that trade products were the cause of Roman confusion between 'Ethiopia' and 'India' as they arrived from lands that were too distant for many to comprehend, yet all were traded through Egypt, which acted as a hub for the further confusion of the distant origins of products.[18] One clear example of simultaneous 'Ethiopian' and 'Indian' origins in ancient and medieval texts can be found pertaining to the locations of exotic animals, especially in later maps and bestiaries; evidently not aided by the notable existence of elephants in both Africa and Asia to say the least.[19]

Neither 'Ethiopia' nor 'India' was particularly unknown. In fact, such confusion may actually reflect the unity of the ancient Indian Ocean world, rather than being reflective of an inherent misunderstanding, thus underlining the lack of a negative correlation between seemingly confused toponyms and actual knowledge.[20] Yet, both 'Ethiopia' and 'India' were continually used as tropes for alterity and distance despite writers having the ability to correctly identify each region, labelled by Grant Parker as the Eastern or Indian Ocean paradigm.[21] The long-lasting and cultural influence of the Alexander romances (fl. third century CE), which survive in some form in hundreds of manuscripts throughout the medieval period in Latin Europe in both Latin and numerous European vernacular languages and epitomised perceptions of alterity and distance, offers just one clear example of this within a literary tradition, for instance.[22] Moreover, to echo Pierre Schneider into the medieval period, the confusion between 'Ethiopia' and 'India' in antiquity should not be viewed as the result of an ignorance about both regions, but, rather, reflective of the presence of lacunas in the knowledge of individual authors.[23] Given that the acquisition of knowledge regarding these far-away lands was not a particular problem, the continued interchange of 'Ethiopia' and 'India' by some writers owed itself more to cultural norms and

literary traditions, rather than to a misunderstanding of geography, possibly emboldened by an individual lack of knowledge too. The nuance of individualised or personalised knowledge, and the role of the author and their intended audience, especially in relation to the chosen use of toponyms and ethnonyms, cannot be understated.

The African Biblical 'Ethiopia'

The first known surviving explicit Latin direct association between Nubia and 'Ethiopia' is found in the first-century CE *Naturalis Historia* of the Roman writer Pliny the Elder in which he references the now lost works of the third-century BCE Greek travellers Dalion, Aristocreon, Simonides the Younger, Bion, and Basilis. The utilisation of these sources by Pliny particularly highlights how closely connected the Greco-Latin world was with Meroë. Not only were Dalion, Aristocreon, and Bion and Basilis said to have sailed further down the Nile than Meroë but Simonides the Younger had stayed in Meroë for five years whilst writing his account of *Aethiopia*, further emphasising that confusions of 'Ethiopia' cannot necessarily be blamed on ignorance.[24] Whilst referencing Aristocreon, Pliny makes note of the *Nubaei Aethiopes* or 'Nubian Ethiopians'.[25] The origin of the toponym 'Nubia' itself, as argued by Claude Rilly, may have had a Meroitic origin to denote non-Meroitic populations raided for slaves (*noba*) which had become known to Greek and Roman writers, reinforced to external observers by the Egyptian word for gold, *nwb*, on account of the gold mines in Lower Nubia.[26] Perhaps most indicative of this ancient understanding of the Nubian 'Ethiopia' is the Greek literary fourth-century CE work of Heliodorus entitled the *Aithiopiká* (Αἰθιοπικά), which is entirely centred on Meroë. Ancient Greco-Latin texts certainly had an understanding of Nubia in their notes on 'Ethiopia'. Importantly, this pre-dated any supposed confusion with ʾAksum, which was centred in modern Ethiopia and Eritrea.

Indeed, Meroë's location within 'Ethiopia' was a common fact restated by writers even into the medieval period, whereas the association of ʾAksum (Latin: *Auxumae*/Greek: *Auxoumē*/Αὐξουμῆ) with 'Ethiopia' appears exclusively as a caveat for an audience who most readily located an 'Ethiopia' in Sudan. Writing between 425 and 433 CE, Philostorgius appears to be the first writer to relate ʾAksum within an area labelled 'Ethiopia', leading some historians to use this as the first direct association of ʾAksum with 'Ethiopia'.[27] This is, however, a matter of translation, specifically of the word *chōras* (χώρας), and ignores the fact that the emphasis of the text is on ʾAksum, not 'Ethiopia'. The most recent critical edition of the *Acts of Saint Arethas* (c. seventh century), which is accompanied by a French translation, reflects this overemphasis on the role of *chōras* in portraying ʾAksum as the kingdom of Ethiopia, particularly in the line 'then in the [country] of Ethiopia, Kalēb the righteous reigned in the city of ʾAksum of these Ethiopians' (τότε τῆς Αἰθιόπων χώρας ἐβασίλευσεν Ἐλεσβαὰς ὁ δικαιότατος ἐν Αὐξουμῇ τῇ πόλει τῆς αὐτῆς Αἰθιόπων). In this edition, Joëlle Beaucamp translated *chōras* explicitly

as 'country' (*pays*), rather than the equivalent vaguer option of 'land', which would instead situate 'Ethiopia' more broadly as a region following pre-Christian Greek models of geography and thus conform to the hypothesis forwarded here.[28] Even writers who do appear to link 'Ethiopia' to Ethiopia – such as the sixth-century writers Procopius, the otherwise unknown author of the *Christian Topography*, and the tenth-century work of Photius I – felt the need to clearly define their 'Ethiopia' as encompassing ʾAksum rather than presuming an understanding by their readers of an immediate association between ʾAksum and 'Ethiopia'.[29] Despite these examples, it should be stressed that ʾAksum never became the kingdom of 'Ethiopia' to replace Nubia, with the toponym of ʾAksum instead determining the kingdom. As will be shown next, this is especially supported by the surviving ʾAksumite evidence itself.

Despite literary and pre-Christian influences, biblical geography undoubtedly viewed 'Ethiopia' as Nubia.[30] First and foremost, 'Ethiopia' was the land that encompassed the River *Gehon* (Nile) in Genesis, one of the four Rivers of Paradise. The Gehon itself was first attributed to the Nile by Josephus in the first century CE and was soon adopted by Christian writers, notably Isidore of Seville.[31] This biblical influence was also present in the chroniclers of the First Crusade. Fulcher of Chartres (fl. before c. 1128) located the flow of the Nile through 'Ethiopia' because it was 'as we read' (*ut legimus*) according to Genesis.[32] Ancient authors were certainly knowledgeable about the river. For example, Strabo (d. c. 24 CE) correctly identified the river's 'S' shape between Aswan and Meroë, which was described as a reversed 'N' (i.e. И) shape, illustrating that the Nile was understood much more than within an abstract geography.[33] A key geographical attribute of the 'Ethiopian' Nile was the location of the Nubian island of Meroë within it, which was repeatedly described in medieval Latin texts following from the account of Pliny the Elder, who described the island as being the 'capital' of the 'Ethiopians' (*caputque gentis Aethiopum*) and being 5,000 *stadia* from Syene.[34] It is also noticeable in classical texts that descriptions of the Nile often focused on its flow through Nubia and the wonder of its unknown sources.[35] Whilst the source and route of the Nile may have remained open for debate throughout the medieval period, its location in Egypt, and therefore its origin from Nubia, further emphasised Nubia's 'Ethiopian' identity.[36]

Regrettably, there is currently no known evidence of what the inhabitants of Nubia called themselves collectively in surviving Old Nubian texts. The closest thing we have is the unification of the Nubian kingdoms under the toponym of Dotawo from the twelfth century but this may have been primarily a political, rather than a cultural, identity.[37] It had once been supposed by Anthony J. Arkell that an Old Nubian inscription found in Kordofan attests to a Christian named Anena from 'Kush' (*Kasito*, ⲕⲁⲥⲓⲧⲟ) who left their mark during the reign of a, currently unidentified, *ourou* Aaron, though Grzegorz Ochała has more recently proposed a completely different reading of the inscription to associate it with *ourou* Siti, who is attested in the 1330s in other

Old Nubian evidence, which discredits the inscription as evidence of a 'Kushite' identification.[38] However, there is some evidence for regional identities. For example, in Old Nubian, Nobadia was known as *Mig-*, both before and after its annexation, such as in the toponym *migitin goul* (ⲙⲓⲅⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲅⲟⲩⲗ), 'land of the Nobadians', whilst it was also known directly as Nobadia (ⲛⲟⲃⲁⲇⲓⲁ), whose inhabitants were Nobadians (ⲛⲟⲃⲁⲇⲓⲟⲛ).[39] Old Nubian texts also refer to their *ourou* as specifically being the *ourou* of the *Makrout*/*Makuritai* (?) (ⲙⲁⲕⲟⲩⲣ`ⲧ´) and of the *Aruades* (ⲁⲣⲟⲩⲁ`ⲇ´, Alwans), suggesting the continued existence of regional identities, but it is currently unknown if there were multiple identities or even differences within these regions, such as in Alwa where very few manuscripts are known.[40] Nubians do not appear to have adopted the ethnonym of 'Nubians' beyond an association with the region of Nobadia and more likely understood themselves as Kushites, if not something else.

How Nubia implemented its biblical identity, if at all, is unknown, however. Regrettably, there are no known examples of a Nubian self-identification with Psalm 68:31 ('Ethiopia shall reach out its hands to God'), though there is an Old Nubian translation of Psalm 87, which is indicative of a Nubian understanding of *Aithiopōn* (ⲁⲓⲑⲓⲟⲡⲱⲛ) with the profession of Christianity.[41] Known evidence of other psalms would indicate that Psalm 68:31 would not have been unknown.[42] This textual absence is exemplary of the lack of surviving Nubian evidence and limits our understanding of the existence of any Nubian self-awareness of being the 'Ethiopians' of the Bible, which could have further influenced Latin European discourse, similar to the Ethiopian adoption of the fourteenth century, which will be outlined in this chapter. That said, Coptic may aid in this matter, not least as it was an active language in Nubia itself. For example, the Sahidic Coptic translation of the Bible translates Kush as both the vaguer *Etayš* (ⲉⲑⲁⲅⲩ/'Ethiopia') when in reference to a region (i.e. in Genesis) and the more explicitly 'Nubian' *Necooš* (ⲛⲉϭⲟⲟⲩ) when employed for a specifically Nubian narrative regarding Queen Candace (her name originating from the Meroitic title *ktke*, vocalised as *kandake*, meaning 'queen' or 'queen-mother') or Psalm 68:31 where 'Ethiopia' will reach out its hands to God.[43] Whilst it may only be suggestive, given the wide use of Coptic in Nubia, such attributions may have been in use by Nubians too.[44] This would be supported by the fact that Meroites described themselves as people from *Qeš* up until the fifth century CE, despite the lack of later Christian Nubian evidence.[45] In fact, the fifth-century ruler of northern Nubia, Silko, did declare himself in Greek to be 'king of the Nobades and all of the Ethiopians' (Βασιλισκος Νουβαδον και ολων των Αιθιοπων).[46] His inscription interestingly possibly highlights both pre-Christian Greco-Latin and Christian traditions of 'Ethiopia' as the Nobades can equally be read as being 'Ethiopians' or within a wider regional 'Ethiopia'. The evidence, as limited as it is, would suggest that even if Nubians did not consider themselves 'Ethiopians', they likely did consider themselves 'Kushite' or at least made the connection. Christian Nubians would have seemingly been aware that they were the biblical and historical Kush and, by extension,

'Ethiopia', both within their own narrative and within the narratives of other Christian groups. So, where does Ethiopia fit into this narrative?

Abyssinia and a New Ethiopia

Despite both the consistencies and inconsistencies with the identifications of *Aethiopia/Aithiopia* (Αἰθιοπία), it is evident in Ethiopian sources that the kingdom of Ethiopia only begins, as far as surviving evidence suggests, to refer to itself as Ethiopia (*ʾItyoṗya*:ኢትዮጵያ) from the early fourteenth century. Problematically, this period also coincides with an increase in surviving Ethiopian texts, thus possibly resulting in an altogether incomplete picture. However, accompanying surviving ʾAksumite material, especially inscriptions, would suggest that the adoption of the toponym in fourteenth-century Ethiopian texts would appear to have been a contemporary development. In the surviving sources, in addition to being specifically of the kingdoms of ʾAksum (አክሱም) or Zagʷe Bəgʷəna (ብጐና), Ethiopians understood their own 'land' (*bəḥera*:ብሔረ) or 'people' (*sabʾ*:ሰብእ) – or occasionally their 'kingdom' (*mangəśt*:መንግሥት) – in numerous ways. Ethiopians also referred to themselves as of the *Ḥabašat* (ሐበሠት), the *ʾAgʿäzi* (አገዐዚ) or 'free', and, after the fourteenth century, of *ʾItyoṗya* (ኢትዮጵያ) itself. Significantly, Latin Christians first knew of Ethiopians during the Crusader period as Abyssinians, not Ethiopians, emphasising the distinction between Ethiopia and Nubian 'Ethiopia'. A toponym akin to 'Abyssinia' – *Abitis* – first appeared in the travel narrative attributed to Roger of Howden in the latter third of the twelfth century as a result of the dissemination and corruption of eastern toponyms for Ethiopia – namely, from one, if not all, of Gəʿəz (*Ḥabašat*), Arabic (*al-Ḥabaša*:الحبشة), Hebrew (*Ḥabaš*:חבש), and Syriac (*Ḥabaš*:ܚܒܫ).[47] The root of 'Abyssinia' from Arabic and Gəʿəz has been noted in current scholarship, yet the reinforcing ability of similar Hebrew and Syriac toponyms has received much less attention and is potentially significant in analysing the influencers of knowledge from the array of possible networks of knowledge detailed in Chapter 3.[48]

'Abyssinia' may even have been in use prior to Roger of Howden's text. For instance, a place called *Abasitarum* was located in Africa by Gervase of Tilbury, though it is not explicitly related to East Africa.[49] It appears likely that Gervase was influenced by the *Auasitarum* – a toponym based on the Coptic spelling for 'oasis' (*ouahe*:ⲟⲩⲁϩⲉ) – which had been a known location in antiquity.[50] In normal circumstances, the different spelling in Gervase of Tilbury's text may not be a reason to draw too much attention. However, Gervase was copying from Orosius who, perhaps notably, referred instead to the *Oasitae* ('oasis-dwellers') of the Sahara, rather than the *Auasitarum*.[51] It is, therefore, possible that Gervase's form of *Abasitarum* was not merely a different spelling but also a conscious replacing of one toponym with another identically spelt toponym to 'correct' or update his text using a 'modern' toponym he had recently become accustomed to. Importantly, here, Gervase

claimed to have first conceived of his *Otia Imperialia* (wr. 1211–15), which was written for Holy Roman Emperor Otto IV, 30 years previously during the reign of Otto's uncle King Henry the Younger of England (d. 1183). In which case, it may be that the concept of 'Abyssinia' had been known independently from, or even before, Roger of Howden's reference. Even if Gervase's toponym is coincidental, Roger of Howden's reference to *Abitis* still places Abyssinia's first surviving appearance in the Latin Christian corpus to the late twelfth century, long before Ethiopia became explicitly associated with 'Ethiopia'. More importantly, the very process of the development of the toponym of 'Abyssinia' was in response to a need to distinguish the region later known as Ethiopia from Nubian 'Ethiopia'.

Returning to the question of an Ethiopian 'Ethiopia', it has been argued, for example by both Daniel Selden and George Hatke, that it was actually ʾAksum that tried to write itself into universal Christian history, long before the rise of the Solomonids, by referring to itself as Ethiopia.[52] Yet, as will be shown, *Aithiopia* (Αἰθιοπία) appears only rarely in Greek inscriptions in Ethiopia and never in any known Gəʿəz examples, even in parallel texts with the same, or very similar, narratives. The rulers of ʾAksum always labelled themselves first and foremost as being a *nəguś* of ʾAksum, not of 'Ethiopia'. Furthermore, any use of *Aithiopia* appears most associated with Kush, rather than either ʾAksum or even *Ḥabašat*. For instance, ʿEzana's fourth-century inscriptions are indicative that Kush was seen as a distinct region in Nubia. In fact, a closer look at the trilingual inscriptions of ʿEzana suggests a more nuanced understanding of the use of *Aithiopia* in the Greek sections. Upon closer inspection of the inscriptions known as RIE 185I, 185II, and 270, the Greek inscription most closely reflects the Sabaic, rather than the Gəʿəz forms of the inscription, notably in the order that ʿEzana's dominions appear, though there is no overall consistency in any of the orders despite supposedly being translations of the same text. *Aithiopia* corresponds with the Sabaic use of *Ḥbštm*, both of which appear before Sabaʾ, but in the Gəʿəz inscription, *Kāsū* appears before Sabaʾ, whilst *Habaśt* appears after.

> Sabaic (RIE 185I): *nəguś* of ʾAksum, Ḥimyar, Raydān, Ḥabaštm, Sabaʾ, Salḥén, Ṣiyāmō, Kāsū, Bega
>
> Gəʿəz (RIE 185II): *nəguś* of ʾAksum, Ḥimyar, Kāsū, Sabaʾ, Ḥabaśt, Raydān, Salḥén, Ṣiyāmō, Bega
>
> Greek (RIE 270): *nəguś* of ʾAksum, Ḥimyar, Raydān, Aithiopia, Sabaʾ, Salḥén, Ṣiyāmō, Bega, Kāsū

The fact that *Aithiopia* appears to correspond most closely to the Sabaic *Ḥbštm* in comparison with the Gəʿəz text, which aligns more with *Ks*, also highlights the question of audience. The use of Sabaic in these inscriptions appears to be for an internal audience of limited scope to project an ʾAksumite localised power, whereas the Gəʿəz and Greek versions would have been most commonly read.[53] The distinction between ʾAksum and 'Ethiopia' is even clearer in the other known trilingual inscription of ʿEzana (RIE 185bisI,

185bisII, and 270bis), which does appear to more clearly claim *Aithiopia* as an equivalent to *Kāsū*, with *Ḥabaśt* largely relegated in importance in comparison in the Gəʿəz text:

> Sabaic (RIE 185bisI): *nəguś* of ʾAksum, Ḥimyar, Raydān, Salḥén, Sabaʾ, Ḥabaštm, Ṣiyāmō, Ṣrd, Kāsū, Bega
> Gəʿəz (RIE 185bisII): *nəguś* of ʾAksum, Ḥimyar, Raydān, Kāsū, Sabaʾ, Salḥén, Ṣrd, Ḥabaśt, Bega
> Greek (RIE 270bis): *nəguś* of ʾAksum, Ḥimyar, Raydān, Aithiopia, Sabaʾ, Salḥén, Ṣiyāmō, Bega, Kāsū

Indeed, the pre-Christian inscription said to have been witnessed on a throne in Adulis, ʾAksum's principal Red Sea port, recorded by the anonymous Byzantine merchant known as Cosmas Indicopleustes in the sixth century, details the military exploits of an unnamed *nəguś* and makes it clear that *Aithiopia* (Αἰθιοπία) was to the west of ʾAksum, seemingly pointing to Kush (Meroë).[54] Furthermore, it is striking that *Aithiopia* was not listed amongst ʿEzana's dominions in another known Greek inscription – interestingly without a parallel Gəʿəz or Sabaic text – despite the appearance of the other common localities (including, in order, ʾAksum, Ḥimyar, Raydān, Sabaʾ, Salḥén, Kāsū, Bega, and Tiāmō [Ṣiyāmō]).[55] Such an omission would appear strange if ʾAksum did indeed consider itself to be *Aithiopia*. Moreover, if reconstructions of ʾAksumite numismatic evidence by Wolfgang Hahn are to be believed, it is notable that some examples of ʾAksumite coins depicted rulers as being from the *chora Abassinon* in their Greek legends, a clear attempt at the transliteration of *Ḥabašat*, rather than being from *Aithiopia*.[56] This is reiterated by the fact that ʾAksumite *nägäśt* continued to frame themselves as *nägäśt* of ʾAksum, rather than of 'Ethiopia' in Gəʿəz elsewhere in later centuries.[57] Within the kingdom itself, it remained the kingdom of ʾAksum, not *ʾItyop̣ya*, which is in stark contrast to its appropriation by the Solomonids who adopted the toponym both internally and externally.

Whilst it is true that following ʿEzana's conquest of Kush, Kush was rarely referred to after the fourth century, except for a few isolated incidences up until the sixth century, there is no evidence that an ʾAksumite 'Ethiopia' replaced the Kushite 'Ethiopia' within surviving Ethiopian discourse.[58] More importantly, there is no evidence which suggests that ʾAksum believed itself to be the 'Ethiopia' of the Bible. Although the full Old Testament was translated into Gəʿəz no later than the seventh century, no complete manuscripts are known to survive prior to the fourteenth century.[59] Moreover, earlier biblical texts, such as those of the Garima Gospels (the earliest incorporated texts date to the sixth century), concern New Testament gospel texts and therefore do not refer to any narratives of 'Ethiopia' to reveal any significant attestations for an earlier adoption either. Modern scholarly consensus currently argues for a Greek origin to the Ethiopian Bible, rather than a previously argued Syriac one, which further supports the lack of an ʾAksumite adoption of the toponym of 'Ethiopia'.[60] A Gəʿəz biblical translation from

Greek would suppose that the early Gəʿəz texts would have contained the translation of Ethiopia (ʾ*Ityop̣ya*:ኢትዮጵያ), yet even combined with other Greek influences, there is no evidence that the toponym was adopted by any of the rulers of Ethiopia as a self-descriptor prior to the Solomonic adoption of the toponym.[61] The absence of the importance of such an identification is reflected in the fact that there is no known surviving element of Psalm 68:31 in any known ʾAksumite inscription, unlike references to numerous other psalms, suggesting that the later infamous passage which became most associated with Ethiopia was not seen, at least primarily, as fundamental to ʾAksumite identity and gained its importance sometime later, specifically during the Solomonic period when the earliest Gəʿəz texts attesting to the Psalm survive.[62] Whether earlier Gəʿəz biblical manuscripts had contained ʾ*Ityop̣ya* or not, evidence suggests that ʾAksum acknowledged a separation between itself and 'Ethiopia'.

Furthermore, this is also the case for the post-ʾAksumite period. Documents with Zagʷe protagonists, such as the *gädlät* (hagiographies) of saintly *nägäśt*, only survive in manuscripts dating from the Solomonic era, further highlighting the issue that the incorporation of 'Ethiopia' (ʾ*Ityop̣ya*:ኢትዮጵያ) into Gəʿəz cannot be dated without question to before the fourteenth century. For example, ʾ*Ityop̣ya* (ኢትዮጵያ) appears in the *Gädl* of Lalibäla, who ruled between c. before 1204 and after 1225, but the surviving known manuscripts date no earlier than the fourteenth century.[63] Equally, no contemporary Zagʷe inscription using ʾ*Ityop̣ya* is known, neither in stone nor on datable objects, such as *tabots* – replicas of the Ark of the Covenant. In fact, whilst not conclusive, the few surviving land grants from the Zagʷe period are indicative that Zagʷe Ethiopia seemingly considered itself to be a kingdom called Bəgʷəna (ብጒና), not ʾ*Ityop̣ya*.[64] Shiferaw Bekele has used the example of tabots to argue that an Ethiopian 'national' consciousness which became epitomised in the *Kəbrä nägäśt*, the Solomonic 'national' epic relating Ethiopia's foundational history from the time of the Queen of Sheba and King Solomon, which will be discussed shortly, can be dated to the late first millennium, if not earlier. Yet, there are no known early tabots which have ʾ*Ityop̣ya* inscribed on them. Indeed, the one Gəʿəz text noted to sustain evidence for the Ethiopian adoption of ʾ*Ityop̣ya* prior to the *Kəbrä nägäśt* in this 'national' consciousness by Shiferaw Bekele, the homily of St. Frumentius, is described broadly as 'not before the thirteenth century'. However, whilst not incorrect, this text specifically dates to either 1336/7 or 1339/40, thus emphasising the association between the adoption of ʾ*Ityop̣ya* and the arrival of the Solomonic dynasty.[65] That is not to say that a 'national' consciousness did not exist in Ethiopia before 1270, but that it did not centre on being 'Ethiopian' as later Ethiopians came to understand it. For instance, as Marie-Laure Derat has highlighted, the twelfth-century Zagʷe ruler Ṭanṭawədəm was also known as Solomon, possibly indicating an earlier cultural association with King Solomon prior to the Ethiopian translation of the *Kəbrä nägäśt*.[66] Yet, any such earlier 'national' narrative cannot be said to have centred on an Ethiopian self-identification as ʾ*Ityop̣ya* until after the arrival of the

Solomonids based on the current evidence. There is no reason to discount that later writers simply added the toponym of *ʾItyoṗya* into their texts – for instance, to replace *Ḥabašat* – even if such texts were copies of older manuscripts. The expansion of the use of *ʾItyoṗya* in Ethiopian texts coincided with the episcopate of 'the Translator' Abba Salama IV (r. c. 1348–88), who oversaw a flourishing of manuscript production within Ethiopia, which enabled the cultural entrenching of the toponym and the development of this new identity, building on the explicitly 'Ethiopian' narrative of the *Kəbrä nägäśt*.[67]

Building an Ethiopian Narrative in Ethiopia

The *Kəbrä nägäśt* cemented Ethiopia's new Ethiopian identity and relates a history covering a period between the tenth century BCE and the sixth century CE. It was said to have been translated into Gəʿəz from an Arabic manuscript during the reign of ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon (r. 1314–44), more likely earlier in his reign than later, as the fruits of a project led by a monk called Yəsḥāq. The Arabic text had, in turn, supposedly been translated from an earlier Coptic manuscript during the reign of Lalibäla and in the days of Abba Giyorgis II, which would give the date c. 1225.[68] The vast majority of the text centres around Makədda (the Ethiopian name for the Queen of Sheba, though this is not directly ascribed in the text) and the son she gave birth to with King Solomon following their encounter in 1 Kings 10:2, who became known in Ethiopian tradition as Mənəlik. Mənəlik would be anointed as the first *nəguś* of *ʾItyoṗya* by his father Solomon, thus creating a historical foundation for the Solomonic Ethiopian 'Ethiopia': there are no less than 122 appearances of *ʾItyoṗya* (ኢትዮጵያ) throughout the text. The *Kəbrä nägäśt* was, first and foremost, a text designed to legitimise the new Solomonic dynasty 'reconnecting' to an ancient past following a period of what they more generally framed as usurpation by the Zagʷes.[69] It remains unclear what, exactly, inspired the Solomonic adoption of the toponym *ʾItyoṗya*. For example, it may have been a dynastic decision made independent of regional context, but it may equally have been another element of the wider Solomonic contestation of Nubian hegemony as seen elsewhere, such as in their jockeying to be viewed as the protectors of the wider region's Christians. No explicit evidence exists to reveal how present Nubia, or its current situation, was in the minds of the Solomonic rulers as they sought legitimisation. Nevertheless, the Solomonic adoption of *ʾItyoṗya*, both in the *Kəbrä nägäśt* and elsewhere, can be shown to have been building on an *ʾItyoṗya* centred on Nubia. Once the Latin Christians began to hear news of an Ethiopia which had the traits of Nubia, the merging of Ethiopias transcended the matter of legitimisation sought by the Solomonids and began to affect regional geopolitics. Before looking at how the Ethiopian adoption of the toponym informed external observers, we shall see how Ethiopia was not ignorant of *ʾItyoṗya*'s Nubian connotations.

The evidence for the Nubian origin of the *ʾItyoṗya* of the *Kəbrä nägäśt* is present in both content and when considering the process of translation.

No Arabic or Coptic manuscripts, despite the claim in the text's colophon of its translation process, however, are known. That said, there are clear linguistic influences in the Gəʿəz text which display evidence for it being a product of translation. For instance, there are visible Arabic influences in the text, such as in the name given to Mənəlik, Bäynä Ləḥkəm (በይና:ልሕክም), meaning 'son of a wise man' in reference to Solomon from the Arabic *Ibn al-Ḥakīm* (ابن الحاكم).[70] As a result of the chronological shift forward at the end of the *Kəbrä nägäśt* to the sixth century, some debate has arisen arguing that the *Kəbrä nägäśt* is based on an earlier contemporary sixth-century original, but this has been more widely argued to be inherently unlikely.[71] The argument put forward here is not to suggest that elements of the narrative of the *Kəbrä nägäśt* were not in circulation before the fourteenth century but that the direct association of the toponym of 'Ethiopia' with Ethiopia was a contemporary Solomonic development and an active insertion into the narrative. The lack of evidence for an earlier Gəʿəz translation further problematises the Ethiopian development of its self-association with 'Ethiopia' when the translation of toponyms from these supposed textual traditions is considered. Presumably, any supposed earlier Arabic text would have applied *al-Ḥabaša* (الحبشة) for what became translated as *ʾItyop̣ya* (ኢትዮጵያ), thus offering a specifically Ethiopian narrative, albeit under the guise of a different toponym. Certainly, 'Ethiopia' does not appear in original Arabic texts without clear evidence of copying from a Greek or Latin base text. For instance, Ibn Khordāḏbeh (fl. ninth century) is illustrative of this occasional copying when he wrote of an Asian 'Ethiopia' (*Etyūbyā*:يتيوبيا) based on Ptolemaic principles, which contained Tihāmah (تهامة: the Red Sea coast of Saudi Arabia), Yemen (*Yaman*:ييمن), China (*Sind*:سند), India (*Hind*:هند), and a second 'China' (*Sī*:صي).[72] Instead, Arabic texts normally label the region of the Greco-Latin African 'Ethiopia' as either *Kūš* (كوش: [most often to mean] Nubia), *Nūba* (نوبة: Nubia), *Ḥabaša* (حبشة: modern Ethiopia), *Sūdān* (سودان: Sub-Saharan Africa in general), or *Zanj* (زنج: the East African coast), and would consistently call India *Hīnd* (هند). Yet, the question of the text's transmission is further problematised once the supposed Coptic role in the textual process is taken into consideration. For example, one known contemporary example of a direct Arabic translation of Coptic in a biblical context appears in a multilingual Copto-Arabic Pentateuch dating to 1356 in which the Arabic translation applies *Kūš* (كوش) for *Etayš* (Ethiopia:ⲉⲑⲁⲩⲱ) in Genesis 2:13 in relation to the River Gehon.[73] Was, then, the *Kəbrä nägäśt* based on notions of Kush, and therefore Nubia, rather than *al-Ḥabaša*?

Regarding the supposed Coptic *Vorlage*, this would equally appear unlikely to have given an Ethiopian origin to the initial text. Coptic transliterations of *Aithiopia* (Αἰθιοπία) most commonly appear as a variant of *Etoope* (ⲉⲑⲟⲟⲡⲉ) or *Etayš* (ⲉⲑⲁⲩⲱ) and follow the same identifications as their Greek counterpart noted previously. More importantly, however, is the use of *Necooš* (ⲛⲉϭⲟⲟⲩⲱ) in Acts 8:27 in relation to Queen Candace and Psalm 68:31.[74] David Johnson proposed a possible early Coptic *Vorlage* for the *Kəbrä nägäśt* in a c. tenth/eleventh-century manuscript; though the fragment does not mention

the Queen of Sheba with a locatable toponym.[75] If this earlier Coptic passage is indicative of the Coptic influence on the *Kəbrä nägäśt*, it is notable that other Coptic works referring to the queen describe her as being from *Necooš* (ⲛⲉϭⲟⲟⲩ), therefore identifying her as Nubian.[76] It is difficult to imagine that any Coptic base text for the *Kəbrä nägäśt* would have had anything other than a reference to Nubia, either directly as 'Kush' or indirectly as 'Ethiopia'. The possible existence of 'Kush' in the text when it was supposedly translated into Arabic may offer some explanation for the Ethiopian translators' use of *ꝰItyopya*. It is true that there are multiple examples from various Semitic language sources that describe Ethiopia as Kush. For instance, in Arabic, al-Battānī (d. 929) described Ethiopian towns as both of the *al-Ḥabaša* (الحبشة) – such as the town of *Suwān* – and of *Kūš* (كوش) – notably giving the example of *Kusūmī* (ꝰAksum) for the latter – whilst Mahbūb ibn Qūṣṭānṭīn (d. c. 942) explicitly described the land of *al-Ḥabaša* as that of *Kūš*.[77] Equally, some Syriac texts employed *Kūšāyē* (ܟܘܫܝܐ) in descriptions of Kalēb's invasion of Ḥimyar in c. 535, though in later Syriac sources, Ethiopia is often more specifically referred to as *Ḥabaša* (ܚܒܫܐ) or even *Hindāyē* (ܗܢܕܝܐ).[78] That said, Syriac authors could always specify their *Kūš*, as was the case in the late seventh-century Edessene Apocalypse, which stated that the people of *Kūš* were the Nubians (Nūb:ܢܘܒ).[79] Similarly, translators of texts could define toponyms not originally defined as can be seen in the Armenian translation (wr. 1246) of Patriarch Michael Rabo's (d. 1199) Syriac chronicle which translated *Kūš* specifically as Ethiopia (*Hapešač*, Հապեշաչ), such as when detailing Kalēb's invasion of Ḥimyar.[80] Comparatively broad uses occur in Hebrew, as can be witnessed, for example, in the case of the twelfth-century Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela who used *Kūš* (כוש) when detailing both Nubia and Ethiopia simultaneously akin to a regional, rather than a specific, toponym.[81] However, this is by no means consistent in other works in order to provide definitive proof for this, and such a suggestion still avoids explaining the appearance of *ꝰItyopya*. Instead, evidence points to *ꝰItyopya* being an active insertion by the Ethiopian translators of the *Kəbrä nägäśt*.

The identity of the Queen of Sheba also deserves further attention. In addition to the lack of sources that predate Ethiopia's use of *ꝰItyopya* (ኢትዮጵያ) before the fourteenth century, the queen had never appeared in Gəʿəz sources prior to the *Kəbrä nägäśt*.[82] She was only known as the Queen of Sheba in 1 Kings 10 and was more commonly known simply as the 'Queen of the South' in the New Testament (Mathew 12:42; Luke 11:31), remaining nameless in the Tanakh, Bible, and the Qur'an. Her association with Sheba has almost categorically resulted in the belief of her historical residency in Arabia, yet a closer look at the distinctive African *Saba* (סבא) and the Arabian *Šeba* (שבא) in the Hebrew Old Testament is key to revealing Nubia's appropriation in the *Kəbrä nägäśt*. Similar to the potential that *Meluḫḫa* and *Kūš*/*Kiš* had for confusing references to 'Ethiopia' with somewhere in Asia, and vice versa, Sheba should be viewed in a similar light. Given the Ethiopian desire to appropriate the toponym of *ꝰItyopya*, it should not be ignored that the Kushite city of Meroë was said to have been originally called *Saba* (Σαβα) before being

renamed by the Assyrian king Cambyses following his invasion in the sixth century BCE.[83] Significantly, Cambyses' invasion happened after the reign of Solomon, suggesting that Meroë would have been known as Saba during his reign. This would also complement the scholarly dating of the Book of Kings in which the Queen of Sheba appears to the sixth century BCE.[84] Furthermore, the earliest reference to Meroë by name by an external author is by Herodotus in the fifth century BCE, thus after the narrative of the Queen of Sheba's earliest incarnations.[85] Notably, Stephanos of Byzantium (fl. sixth century) explicitly linked the Nubians (Νουβαῖοι) with Saba – expressing that *Zabaioi* (Σαβαῖοι) was an alternate name for them – in his ethnographic compendium, whilst the placement of a city of Saba (סבא) on the Nile also appears in the twelfth-century itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela, further emphasising the longevity of the association between Meroë and Saba in historical consciousness, which transcended any one cultural corpus.[86] Likewise, Saba was also located in 'Ethiopia' by Latin Christians before 'Ethiopia' became identified with Ethiopia.[87] Moreover, the c. eighth-century, so-called second *Targum of Esther* relates that the Queen of Sheba came from the 'fortified city' (*karkaʾ*, כרכא) of Qitor (קיטור), which is also described as having plentiful gold and silver.[88] It is notable that *qīṭōr* means '[thick] smoke' in Hebrew, which may well also allude to Meroë's well-known iron furnaces, with the reference to bountiful gold especially reflecting Nubia's historic gold mines.[89] The reference to the queen coming from Ethiopia (*al-Ḥabaša*) in the continuation of the *History of the Patriarchs* in relation to the period of Patriarch of Alexandria Kosmas III (r. 921–33), whose section containing this reference was compiled in the late eleventh century, possibly provides an interesting indication of a phased approach towards Nubian appropriation.[90] However, it is possible that the text merely misspoke between Nubia and Ethiopia, and the later twelfth-century text written by Abū al-Makārim, which used the *History* as a source, did confuse elements of knowledge regarding both kingdoms which makes his reiteration of the queen's kingdom potentially circumspect.[91] The anomaly of the continuation of the *History of the Patriarchs* should be read with caution, as no Ethiopian sources attest to this before cementing this appropriation with the adoption of the toponym of 'Ethiopia' in the fourteenth century.

More generally, the historical and archaeological record attests to multiple influential queens of the kingdom of Meroë, or Kush, to act as an exemplar for the queen. The most prominent of those which appear alongside the title of *kandake* are attested between the late second century BCE and first century CE – most famously providing the template for the biblical Queen Candace in Acts 8:27–39. It appears that an earlier queen, actually labelled as Həndakē (ህንደኬ) in the *Kəbrä nägäśt*, was the exemplar for the Queen of Sheba used in the *Kəbrä nägäśt*.[92] Ethiopia had certainly appropriated the biblical Nubian Queen Candace for its own purposes during Francisco Álvarez's stay in Ethiopia in the 1520s, as he claims to have been explicitly told that Queen Candace resided in ʾAksum.[93] Similarly, other elements of the *Kəbrä nägäśt* are indicative of a Nubian origin. On a literary level too,

E. A. Wallis Budge noted how the act of Bäynä Ləḥkəm swearing upon his mother's breasts for his speedy return upon being questioned by Solomon in the *Kəbrä nägäśt* had a known Kushite precedent, albeit the evidence for it postdating the reign of Solomon by a few centuries.[94] Robert Beylot has even gone as far as to suggest a Nubian etymology for the name Makədda, which he posited may derive from the Old Nubian word *koud(i)*, which he suggested would mean wife or concubine in this context, though this has been rejected by Pierluigi Piovanelli.[95] Whilst much of the text is original Ethiopian material, its Nubian influences should not be ignored in Ethiopia's attempt to forge a new universal Christian identity in the fourteenth century, importantly coinciding with the increasing Mamlūk challenges faced by the Christian Nubian kingdom of Dotawo to offer any significant rebuke to this cultural process. Although it is not the focus here, it is important to note that the Islamic tradition of placing Bilqīs (باقيس), the Queen of Sheba in Arabic literature, in Yemen, though early in dating, cannot be taken literally as historical fact, as her residence in Yemen within this tradition both largely places her life in the fifth or sixth century CE and provides a legitimisation of the coming of Islam in Arabia with her conversion; though the anonymous Byzantine merchant, known in scholarship today as Cosmas Indicopleustes, likewise placed the Queen of Sheba in Ḥimyar in the sixth century.[96] Yet, the Arabic tradition and the anonymous Byzantine example, however, can both be explained by a confusion originally caused by the Hebrew African *Saba* and Arabian *Šeba*. Nevertheless, the material which the *Kəbrä nägäśt* drew upon should be viewed as locating the queen originally in Nubia.

Whatever the intricacies of the text of the *Kəbrä nägäśt*, it remains most significant that ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon, the *nəguś* on the throne as the *Kəbrä nägäśt* was translated, is the first Ethiopian *nəguś* with surviving unquestionable contemporary sources which independently attest to their rulership over *ʾItyoṗya* in Gəʿəz, highlighting the recent nature of this development and its developing central importance to Ethiopia's still relatively new Solomonic political establishment.[97] Possibly slightly predating ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon, according to the colophon of a manuscript held at the British Library, including Acts of Saints and Martyrs and additional Homilies, it was created during the reign of *nəguś* Yagbeʾä Ṣəyon (r. 1285–94) whose land was described as *ʾItyoṗya*.[98] However, the contemporary date of the colophon remains questionable. Yet, it may be notable that his reign coincided with Marco Polo labelling the land of Abasce as Ethiopia, especially as Polo narrated information specifically relatable to Yagbeʾä Ṣəyon.[99] Nevertheless, no Ethiopian evidence for the adoption of *ʾItyoṗya* is known prior to the arrival of the Solomonic dynasty. Importantly, the *Kəbrä nägäśt* was produced as ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon began his period of expansion, which was detailed in his chronicle; the earliest Ethiopian royal chronicle known. ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon's exploits got Ethiopia noticed on the world stage and were able to steer 'Ethiopian' discourse. As we will see, as far as the Latin Christians were concerned this period coincided with the relative absence of recorded news of Nubia and its internal affairs which inadvertently paved the way for a seamless transition

between 'Ethiopias' once the Ethiopian embassies arrived in Latin Europe following 1402.

Above all, the *Kəbrä nägäśt* was just one of a body of Solomonic Ethiopian texts which positioned Ethiopia within a universal Christian chronology.[100] The key to this was making Ethiopia 'Ethiopian'. Certainly, sixteenth-century Ethiopian sources are adamant that *ʾItyoṗya* had always been Ethiopia's true toponym. According to a section of the *Maṣḥafa Aksūm* (መጽሐፈ፡አክሱም) dating to the reign of Ləbnä Dəngəl (r. 1508–40), for instance, ʾAksum's first capital, Mazaber, was built by *ʾItəyoṗis* (ኢትዮጲስ), an otherwise unknown son of Cush, which is why they are called *ʾItyoṗya* (ለኢትዮጵያ).[101] A wider contextual look at the production of the *Kəbrä nägäśt*, however, is indicative of *ʾItyoṗya* being an active insertion by the early fourteenth-century Ethiopian translators, regardless of the content of the claimed Coptic and Arabic *Vorlages*. Even if some of the sources of the *Kəbrä nägäśt* did indeed refer to Ethiopia, they did not use, and arguably could not have used, the toponym *ʾItyoṗya*. Further textual analysis of the *Kəbrä nägäśt* may reveal even more Nubian influences within the text. What is important here is that the success of Solomonic Ethiopia's cultural and political adoption of the toponym of *ʾItyoṗya* fundamentally rested on the contrasting fortunes of fourteenth-century Nubia and Ethiopia. It is no coincidence that Nubia's weakening regional position following the first period of conflict with Mamlūk Egypt beginning in the 1270s created the necessary vacuum for Solomonic Ethiopia's successful adoption of an 'Ethiopian' identity. Ethiopia's attempts to replace Nubia was not merely literary either. For example, around the time of the Gəʿəz translation of the *Kəbrä nägäśt*, Ethiopia's new Solomonic rulers began to actively claim to be the protectors of Eastern Christians from any abuse at the hands of Mamlūk Egypt, including sending embassies to Cairo on the matter.[102] This role of protector, or perhaps more correctly 'saviour', had traditionally been held by Nubian rulers in the view of multiple Eastern Christian groups – specifically in apocalyptic traditions – and, possibly, explicitly expressed by Nubian rulers themselves, such as in the case of Moüses Georgios in the late twelfth century.[103] This parallel chronological development of Nubia and Ethiopia from the late thirteenth century is a key underlying factor in many of the later elements of this book, particularly regarding shifting Latin Christian discourse from Nubia to Ethiopia. That is not to say that a stronger Nubia would have prevented this development in Ethiopia, but its relative comparative weakness during this latter period did little to stop, or even slow, the process of replacement.

The Emergence of the 'New' Ethiopia

For our purposes, before continuing, it is notable here to emphasise that, besides Ethiopians themselves, it was only Latin Christians who addressed Solomonic Ethiopia as 'Ethiopia', rather than by a different name. This underlines the significance of the toponym's adoption and the geopolitical consequences that this developing Solomonic internal discourse created,

especially when we consider that Ethiopia only became universally known as 'Ethiopia' from the nineteenth century.[104] Beyond Ethiopia, the consequence of Ethiopia becoming *ʾItyoṗya* mattered most to the Latin Christians, and it was only then that a clear shift from Nubia to Ethiopia can be witnessed. When exactly Ethiopia was successful in disseminating its new 'Ethiopian' identity to foreign rulers, both directly and indirectly, from the early fourteenth century is difficult to determine. Regrettably, the earliest surviving Ethiopian royal correspondence to Latin Christian rulers which attests to the active Ethiopian appropriation of *ʾItyoṗya* (ኢትዮጵያ) only dates to the early sixteenth century, though there is suggestive fifteenth-century evidence that centred *ʾItyoṗya* in these exchanges following the arrival of the embassy to Venice in 1402.[105] For example, Alfonso V of Aragon (r. 1416–58) addressed *aṣé* Yəsḥäq (r. 1414–29) in 1427/8 as 'king of Ethiopian kings' (*regum Ethiopie regi*) whilst also referring to the Ethiopian ruler's authority over the Ark of the Covenant as 'lord of the Tablets of Mount Sinai' (*domino Tabularum Montis Sinay*), a fact that would have been relayed in either the Ethiopian letters or by Ethiopian informants. Perhaps Afonso's use of *Ethiopie* was in response to *ʾItyoṗya*.[106] Certainly, the Ethiopian monks from the community in Jerusalem who participated in the Council of Florence in 1441 did refer to themselves as being from *ʾItyoṗya* (ኢትዮጵያ) in their correspondence with Pope Eugenius IV.[107] It is likely that Ethiopians informed Latin Christians of this 'new' Ethiopia in encounters across the eastern Mediterranean and further afield throughout the fourteenth century even if the evidence for this is reliant solely on tracing the developing, initially inconsistent, meaning of 'Ethiopia' in Latin Christian sources. The significance of identifying the 'Ethiopians' in discussion based on a more rounded evidenced approach which also takes into account Ethiopian evidence also poses challenges to current scholarly narratives, which will be addressed later in this book. For example, the Ethiopian identification of the 'Ethiopian' embassy to Castile and Avignon between 1300 and sometime after 1314 should be viewed as anachronistic, particularly when viewed alongside the evidence of toponymy presented here and the Nubian context which will be presented in Chapter 6.

Significantly, Ethiopia's new identity as *ʾItyoṗya*, despite not being its primary concern, had the most profound effect on Latin Christian discourse due to 'Ethiopia's' association with Nubia, which Ethiopia was able to exploit when this became apparent. In contrast, the surviving records of letters sent by Solomonic Ethiopian rulers to the Mamlūk rulers of Egypt in the late thirteenth century and in the fourteenth century, though only recorded in Arabic works, all present the various rulers of Ethiopia as *mulūk* (ملوك/'kings'; sing. *malik*:ملك) of *al-Ḥabaša*, not of *Etyūbyā*, or a similar transliteration, despite at least some communication seemingly being conducted in Gəʿəz.[108] This may merely reflect a matter of Arabic translation by the respective writers, but it is also true that relations with Muslim Egypt had no concept of what the importance of being 'Ethiopia' was to build upon. It may be the case that Ethiopia did not present itself as Ethiopia universally immediately, particularly to non-Christian audiences. For example, in contrast to Egypt's Muslim

inhabitants, fourteenth-century Arabo-Coptic manuscripts listing places which post-date the arrival of the Solomonids the Coptic *Necooš* was translated as the land of the *al-Ḥabaša* – or, sometimes more precisely, the land of the *Najāšī* (نجاشي: the *nəguś*) – suggesting that the Solomonic Ethiopian portrayal of its new 'Ethiopian' identity may also have been expressed to Copts. However, there was also not a single instance of change that can be pinpointed within the discourses of other Christian groups to attribute 'Ethiopia' to Ethiopia immediately either, such as the example of the detailing of *Habeži* (Хабежи) at the Holy Sepulchre in c. 1370 by the Russian pilgrim, the archimandrite Agrefeni.[109] This may be coincidental but may also be explained by the comparative degree of interactions between Ethiopians and certain other Christian groups, which in these two instances, would have been much less with Russians than it would have been with Copts. In relation to the Latin Christians, it remains unclear when the Ethiopians realised that being 'Ethiopian' could also have profound importance when engaging with Latin Europe to further their goals, whether this was immediately clear or made more explicit only following their embassy to Venice in 1402. Evidence would suggest that this was a happy beneficial coincidence which happened to build upon Latin Christian desires to engage with Nubian 'Ethiopia', rather than an active pursuit.

It is also notable that the adoption of *ʾItyoṗya* may not even have been initially universal within Ethiopia itself, which only serves to further highlight the late Ethiopian adoption of the toponym. For instance, according to Saint Ēwosṭatēwos' *gädl*, the name of the *ourou* of Nubia, Sabʾä Nol (ሳብኦ፡ኖል), who met Ēwosṭatēwos during his journey through Nubia during the saint's exile from Ethiopia (after 1337) is explicitly stated to have meant 'sons of Ethiopia' (*Wəludä ʾItyoṗya*, ውሉደ፡ኢትዮጵያ) in Arabic.[110] In which case, the king's name should be seen as a corrupted understanding of the Arabic *al-ṣibyān al-Nūbah* (صبيان النوبه), or, more grammatically correct, 'son of Nubia' (*al-ṣabiy al-Nūbah*: الصبي النوبه). This suggestion is supported by the fact that the earliest texts derive from a single α tradition (the others being known as β and γ) and whose earliest manuscript dates to the mid-fifteenth century, thus enabling the opportunity for the existence of a scribal error involving the letters 'b' (ብ) and 'l' (ል) to present 'Nob' as 'Nol' to be mistakenly replicated by future copyists. Importantly, this example may illustrate that some remnants of the historical linking of 'Ethiopia' and Nubia in Gəʿəz may have survived the initial fourteenth-century Solomonic adoption given that the narrative could only have developed from the late fourteenth century at the earliest following Ēwosṭatēwos' death; indeed, only after 1374 following the establishment of the monastery at Däbrä Maryam by a disciple of Ēwosṭatēwos, Absadi, where the monks first developed the text.[111] This takes on additional significance when, as Olivia Adankpo-Labadie has highlighted, this encounter within Ēwosṭatēwos' *gädl* purposefully idealises Nubia's Christian *ourou* during a period of conflict, therefore suggesting an active historical connection between Christian Nubia and 'Ethiopia' by the earliest writers of the *gädl* in their intended narrative.[112] Whilst tentative, this

may also help to explain why, if one possible reading of the surviving text is correct, one Archbishop of ʾAksum felt the need to claim his ʾAksumite titulature in an inscription left at the Church of Sonqi Tino, c. 70 km south of the second cataract in Nubia, in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, without any association to 'Ethiopia'.[113]

The change in association that 'Abyssinia' was the 'true' Ethiopia in Latin Christian discourse was informed by Ethiopians themselves during the fourteenth century. Whilst the majority of Latin Christian references to 'Ethiopia' in this book predate this appropriation, this understanding cannot be separated from the role of Nubia and Ethiopia in the mentality of the Crusaders and, more generally, Latin Europe overall, which sowed the seeds for the Ethiopian-Latin Christian interactions of the fifteenth century more commonly discussed. Regarding the era of Ethiopian-Latin Christian relations beginning in the fifteenth century, elements of Nubian history were being portrayed as Ethiopian history to Latin Christian audiences. For example, by the Council of Florence in the 1440s, Ethiopians actively framed Queen Candace within their own history to Latin Christians, and Francisco Álvarez was informed in the 1520s during his time in Ethiopia that Queen Candace lived at ʾAksum and that it was in ʾAksum that Ethiopians say that Psalm 68:31 was fulfilled when Candace received Christianity as told in Acts 8:27.[114] The correlation between the rise of the Ethiopian *Ityoṗya* and a slowly declining Nubia, at least on the international scene, in the fourteenth century is striking. Even though the adoption of 'Ethiopian' identity by the Solomonids was principally a matter of cementing internal power, once this identity began to be projected externally it clearly began to influence where Latin Christians believed their 'Ethiopia' to be. It was no longer Nubia, but Ethiopia. However, it does not appear that Solomonic Ethiopia actively sought to replace Nubia in the eyes of the Latin Christians, though its rulers did take up the regional role of protector of Eastern Christians in place of the *ourou* of Nubia almost immediately, and any benefits that Ethiopia were able to gain in their conducting of Ethiopian-Latin Christian fifteenth-century relations, as a result, were coincidental. Nevertheless, the centrality of the role of Nubia to Solomonic Ethiopian 'Ethiopian' identity, should not be overlooked for the scenarios it initially unintentionally, but later intentionally, created.

Notes

1 For example, see E. Vagnon, 'Comment localiser l'Éthiopie? La confrontation des sources antiques et des témoignages moders au XVᵉ siècle', *Annales d'Éthiopie*, 27 (2012), pp. 21–48.

2 J.-P. Olivier and M. Del Freo, eds., *The Pylos Tablets Transcribed: Deuxième édition* (Padua, 2020), pp. Eb 156, 87; Eb 846, 94; En 74, 105; Eo 247, 110; Ep 301, 114. Amongst other roles attributed to him, Ai-ti-jo-qo was one of the officials known as the *telestai* who were associated with the *dāmos*, an administrative body that oversaw cultivated land and provided goods to the palace during the Mycenaean period; see D. Nakassis, *Individuals and Society in Mycenaean Pylos* (Leiden, 2013), 225 and discussions therein.

3 J. R. R. Tolkien, 'Sigelwara Land', *Medium Ævum*, 1.3 (1932), 191n1; R. S. P. Beekes, 'Aithiopes', *Glotta*, 73 (1995–6), pp. 12–34. My own avoidance of the term 'burnt' due to its more negative associations has been inspired by Sarah Derbew. For just some issues of terminology related by Derbew, see S. Derbew, *Untangling Blackness in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2022), pp. 10–6.

4 'Ethiopians' were possibly associated with African peoples in the works of Hesiod (fl. c. late-eighth century BCE), though there is no surety in the fragmentary text of the ethnonym's etymology or of its direct connection to dark-skinned people: *Hesiod*, eds. and trans. G. W. Most, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA, 2006), Frags. 98–9, pp. 168–71 (text and trans.).

5 Herodotus, *Histories*, ed. and trans. A. D. Godley, 4 vols. (Cambridge, MA., 1920–5), II.22, pp. I:300–1 (text and trans.). Their blackness is implied in a fragment from the sixth century BCE which says that 'Ethiopians' say their gods are black, seemingly imitating themselves: Xenophanes of Colophon, *Fragments*, ed. and trans. J. H. Lesher (Toronto, 1992), pp. 24–5 (text and trans.).

6 Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia: Recreation for an Emperor*, eds. and trans. S. E. Banks and J. W. Binns (Oxford, 2002), Book II Ch. 4, pp. 214–15 (text and trans.).

7 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, eds. and trans. H. Rackham, W. H. S. Jones, and D. E. Eichholz, 10 vols. (Cambridge, MA., 1967–71), 6.35.186–7, pp. II:476–7 (text and trans.).

8 V. I. J. Flint, 'Honorius Augustodunensis Imago Mundi', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age*, 49 (1982), Book I Ch. 32, 64.

9 See U. P. Arora, '"India" Vis-à-vis Egypt – Ethiopia in Classical Accounts', *Graeco-Arabica*, 1 (1982), pp. 131–40; M. van Wyk Smith, '"Waters Flowing from Darkness" The Two Ethiopias in the Early European Image of Africa', *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory*, 68 (1986), pp. 67–77; P. Mayerson, 'A Confusion of Indias: Asian India and African India in the Byzantine Sources', *JAOS*, 113.2 (1993), pp. 169–74; P. Schneider, *L'Ethiopie et l'Inde: Interférences et confusions aux extrémités du monde antique: VIIIe siècle avant J. C. - VIe siècle après J. C.* (Paris, 2004); P. Schneider, 'The So-called Confusion between India and Ethiopia: The Eastern and Southern Edges of the Inhabited World from the Greco-Roman Perspective', in *Brill's Companion to Ancient Geography: The Inhabited World in Greek and Roman Tradition*, eds. S. Bianchetti, M. R. Cataudella, and H.-J. Gehrke (Leiden, 2016), pp. 184–202; P. Vasunia, 'Ethiopia and India: Fusion and Confusion in British Orientalism', *Les Cahiers d'Afrique de l'Est/The East African Review*, 51 (2016), pp. 21–43; N. J. Andrade, *The Journey of Christianity to India in Late Antiquity: Networks and the Movement of Culture* (Cambridge, 2018), pp. 69–93. According to Beekes' etymological argument, this may even have been an adoption of a confused geography regarding Homer's original neighbouring 'Ethiopians' in north-western Greece and their relation to the paradisiacal Garden of the Hesperides: Beekes, 'Aithiopes', pp. 30–1.

10 For the origins and dating of this translation process, see N. Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible*, trans. W. Watson (Leiden, 2000), pp. 3–105.

11 Schneider, *L'Éthiopie et l'Inde*, pp. 365–71. Also, see S. H. Levitt, 'The Ancient Mesopotamian Place Name "Meluḫḫa"', *Studia Orientalia*, 107 (2009), pp. 135–76.

12 Schneider, *L'Éthiopie et l'Inde*, pp. 371–3. For various syntheses of this linguistic nuance, see D. Neiman, 'Ethiopia and Kush: Biblical and Ancient Greek Geography', *Ancient World*, 3 (1980), pp. 35–42; P. Unseth, 'Hebrew Kush: Sudan, Ethiopia, or Where?', *Africa Journal of Evangelical Theology*, 18.2 (1999), pp. 143–59; Goldenberg, *The Curse of Ham*, pp. 17–25.

13 *Kūš* (כוש) was only translated directly as *Kous* (Κους) in one example (Gen 10:6–8) in relation to the son of Ham, although, seemingly unrelatedly, *Chous* (Χούς) does

also appear identifying a village near the Palestinian city of Bethulia in Judith 7:18.

14 This was often made explicitly known; for example: *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum Sive Originum Libri XX*, ed. W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1911), I:Book IX Ch. 2 (text); *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. S. A. Barney, W. K. Lewis, J. A. Beach, and O. Berghof (Cambridge, 2006), 199 (trans.); Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, eds. Banks and Binns, Book II Ch. 4, pp. 214–15 (text and trans.).

15 For example, see M. O'Doherty, *The Indies and the Medieval West: Thought, Report, Imagination* (Turnhout, 2013).

16 *La «Descriptio Mappe Mundi» de Hugues de Saint-Victor*, ed. P. Gautier-Dalché (Paris, 1988): *Ethiopia*: Ch. 7, 139, Ch. 14, 146, Ch. 15, pp. 146–7, Ch. 16, pp. 147–8, Ch. 17, 150, Ch. 18, pp. 150–1; *Ethiopica India*: Ch. 9, pp. 140–1; *Ethiopica Egyptus*: Chs. 7, 138, Ch. 16, pp. 147–8. For the different Indias, see Ch. 9, pp. 140–1.

17 A.-D. von den Brincken, *Fines Terrae: Die Enden der Erde und der vierte Kontinent auf mittelalterlichen Weltkarten* (Hannover, 1992), 162.

18 E. Cerulli, 'Perspectives on the History of Ethiopia', in *Languages and Cultures of Eastern Christianity: Ethiopian*, ed. A. Bausi (Farnham, 2012), pp. 15–18.

19 See N. R. Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 105–7; S. C. Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450* (Ithaca, 2009), pp. 68–75. For a comprehensive list of animals that were noted as both 'Ethiopian' and 'Indian' in classical sources, see Schneider, *L'Éthiopie et L'Inde*, pp. 145–94.

20 For example, this argument is made in Schneider, 'The So-Called Confusion'.

21 G. Parker, *The Making of Roman India* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 141–2.

22 For discussions of this influence, see the chapters in: D. Zuwiyya, eds., *A Companion to Alexander Literature in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2011).

23 Schneider, *L'Éthiopie et L'Inde*, pp. 233–8.

24 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, eds. and trans. Rackham, Jones, and Eichholz, 6.35.183, pp. II:474–5 (text and trans.).

25 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, eds. and trans. Rackham, Jones, and Eichholz, 6.35.191–192, pp. II:480–1 (text and trans.). 'Nubians' also survives as an independent ethnonym during the same time in Strabo's Greek *Geography*, where, upon referencing the third-century BCE writer Eratosthenes, he wrote of the Νοῦβαι: Strabo, *Geography*, ed. and trans. H. L. Jones, 8 vols. (Cambridge, MA., 1917–32), 17.1.2–3, pp. VIII:2–9 (text and trans.).

26 C. Rilly, 'Enemy Brothers. Kinship and Relationship Between Meroites and Nubians (Noba)', in *Between the Cataracts: Proceedings of the 11th Conference for Nubian Studies, Part I: Main Papers*, eds. W. Godlewski and A. Łajtar (Warsaw, 2008), pp. 211–25, esp. 217–19.

27 Philostorgius, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. J. Bidez (Berlin, 1981), Book III Ch. 6, pp. 35–6 (text); Philostorgius, *Church History*, trans. P. R. Amidon (Atlanta, 2007), 43 (trans.); R. Schneider, 'Notes on the Royal Aksumite Inscriptions', in *Languages and Cultures*, ed. Bausi, pp. 46–8; G. Hatke, *Aksum and Nubia: Warfare, Commerce and Political Fictions in Ancient Northeast Africa* (New York, 2013), 53.

28 *Le martyre de saint Aréthas et de ses compagnons*, eds. and trans. M. Detoraki and J. Beaucamp (Paris, 2007), Ch. 1, pp. 183–6 (text and trans.).

29 Procopius, *History of the Wars*, ed. and trans. H. B. Dewing, 5 vols. (Cambridge, MA, 1914–28), Book I, Chs. 19–20, pp. I:178–95 (text and trans.); Cosmas Indicopleustès, *Topographie Chrétienne*, ed. and trans. W. Wolska-Conus, 3 vols. (Paris, 1968–73), Book II Chs. 48–65, pp. I:357–81 (text and trans.); Photius, *Bibliothèque*, ed. and trans. R. Henry, 9 vols. (Paris, 1959–91), pp. I:5–8 (text and trans.).

30 For an overview of some of 'Ethiopia''s biblical appearances, see J.-M. Courtès, 'The Theme of "Ethiopia" and "Ethiopians" in Patristic Literature', in *The Image*

of the Black in Western Art, eds. D. Bindman, H. L. Gates, 10 vols. (Cambridge, MA, 2010), pp. II.I:199–214.

31 *Josephus*, ed. and trans. H. St. J. Thackeray, R. Marcus, and L. H. Feldman, 9 vols. (Cambridge, MA., 1930–65), Book I Ch. 39, pp. IV:18–21 (text and trans.); *Isidori Hispalensis Etymologiarum*, ed. Lindsay, II: Book XIII Ch. 21 (text); *Etymologies*, trans. Barney, Lewis, Beach, and Berghof, 280 (trans.).

32 Fulcheri Cartonensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. Hagenmeyer, Book II Ch. 57, pp. 597–8 (text); Fulcher of Chartres, *History*, trans. Ryan with Fink, pp. 216–17 (trans.).

33 Strabo, *Geography*, ed. and trans. Jones, 17.1.2, pp. VIII:2–3 (text and trans.).

34 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, eds. and trans. Rackham, Jones, and Eichholz, 2.75.184, pp. I:316–17 (text and trans.). The medieval examples are far too numerous to list here but Meroë appears as a common defining feature of the Nile on many medieval maps and some form of this statement rarely fails to appear in any discussion of the Nile, often appearing as if it was a required fact for any serious writer to repeat, even when Meroë had long lost its significance.

35 See P. H. Schrijvers, 'A Literary View on the Nile Mosaic at Praeneste', in *Nile into Tiber: Egypt in the Roman World: Proceedings of the IIIrd International Conference of Isis Studies, Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University, May 11–14 2005*, eds. L. Bricault, M. J. Versluys, and P. G. P. Meyboom (Leiden, 2007), pp. 224–9.

36 For an example of such a debate, see the work of Stephen of Pisa and Antioch. His *Liber Mamonis* (c. 1120s) refuted Macrobius' (fl. c. 399–422 CE) theory of an equatorial ocean by arguing that the Nile flowed from the habitable southern hemisphere as it explained the flooding of the Nile in the summer during otherwise dry months because of the inverse climatic conditions of the southern hemisphere: D. Grupe, *Stephen of Pisa and Antioch: Liber Mamonis: An Introduction to Ptolemaic Cosmology and Astronomy from the Early Crusader States* (Cham, 2019), pp. 66–9, 112–17 (text and trans.).

37 The earliest known example of a Nubian *ourou* only referring to himself as the *ourou* of Dotawa dates from the reign of *ourou* David I (c. 1132–c. 1155): G. M. Browne, 'Griffith's Old Nubian Sale', *Orientalia*, Nova Series, 61.4 (1992), pp. 454–8. On the identification of Dotawo, see G. R. Ruffini, "Newer Light on the Kingdom of Dotawo', in *Qasr Ibrim, Between Egypt and Africa: Studies in Cultural Exchange (Nino Symposium, Leiden, 11–12 December 2009)*, eds. J. van der Vliet and J. L. Hagen (Leuven, 2013), pp. 179–91. For further examples, see R. H. Pierce, 'Nubian Toponyms in Medieval Nubian Sources', *Dotawo: A Journal of Nubian Studies*, 4 (2017), pp. 47–8, 44.

38 A. J. Arkell, 'An Old Nubian Inscription from Kordofan', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 55.4 (1951), 354; G. Ochała, 'A King of Makuria in Kordofan', in *Nubian Voices: Studies in Nubian Christian Civilization*, eds. A. Łajtar and J. van der Vliet (Warsaw, 2011), pp. 149–55.

39 For examples, see Pierce, 'Nubian Toponyms', 44.

40 For some examples, see Pierce, 'Nubian Toponyms', pp. 43, 47.

41 PQI 2 13.i.18, in G. M. Browne, *Old Nubian Texts from Qaṣr Ibrīm II* (London, 1989), 11.

42 For example: G. R. Ruffini, 'Psalms 149–150: A Bilingual Greek and Old Nubian Version from Qasr Ibrim', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 168 (2009), pp. 112–22.

43 For instance, Queen Candace is called the 'Kandake of the Nubians' (ⲕⲁⲛⲁⲁⲕⲏ ⲧⲣⲣⲱ ⲛⲛⲉⲟⲟⲩ) in Acts 8:27, whilst the toponym is again used for Psalm 68:31: ⲟⲩⲛ Ⳉⲉⲛϥⲁⲓⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ Ⳉⲛ ⲕⲏⲙⲉ ⲛⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲣϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲛϯ ⲛⲛⲉⲩϭⲓⳈ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ.

44 Ochała, 'Multilingualism', pp. 26–7. For problems on Nubian uses of self-designation, see G. Ochała, 'When Epigraphy Meets Art History: On St Phoibammon from Abdallah-n Irqi', in *Aegyptus et Nubia Christiana: The Włodzimierz Godlewski Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*, eds. A. Łajtar, A.

Obłuski, and I. Zych (Warsaw, 2016), pp. 516–17. Very little is known about Nubian self-identification and the limited sources are not always clear. For example, note the use of *Lubi* (ⲗⲩⲃⲓ) in the fourteenth century Coptic scrolls of Bishop Timotheos found at Qasr Ibrim and the alternative uses of *Nubias* (ⲛⲩⲃⲓⲁⲥ), *Zomites* (ⲍⲟⲙⲓⲧⲏⲥ: ʾAksum), and *Teopias* (ⲑⲉⲟⲡⲓⲁⲥ: Ethiopia) by two of the witnesses: J. M. Plumley, *The Scrolls of Bishop Timotheos: Two Documents from Medieval Nubia* (London, 1975), pp. 8–16 (text), 18–21 (trans.).

45 FHN III, pp. 1104 (text), 1107 (trans.).

46 FHN III, pp. 1149–50 (text and trans.).

47 *Du Yorkshire à l'Inde: Une «Géographie» urbaine et maritime de la fin du XIIe siècle (Roger de Howden?)*, ed. P. Gautier-Dalché (Geneva, 2005), De Viis Maris, Ch. 11, pp. 216–17. Following the 'rediscovery' in Latin Europe of Ptolemy's second-century *Geography* in 1406, multiple fifteenth-century writers claimed that Ptolemy's *Agisymba* (Ἀγίσυμβα) was a historical reference to Ethiopia, however there is no evidence that this conflation existed in the previous centuries: A. Stückelberger et al., *Klaudios Ptolemaios: Handbuch der Geographie*, 2 vols. (Basel, 2006), 1.7.2, 1.8.1, 1.8.5, pp. I:70, 74, 76; 7.5.2, II:742 (text); Claudius Ptolemy, *The Geography*, trans. E. L. Stevenson with intro. by J. Fischer (New York, 1991), pp. 29–30, 159 (trans.). Examples of these fifteenth-century writers are Cardinal Fillastre's noting of the 1427 Ethiopian embassy in Valencia, the description of *Abascia* on the Fra Mauro map (c. 1450), a geographical description in Benedetto Cotrugli's *De navigatione* (c. 1464–5), and Columbus' own handwritten annotations of his personal copy of d'Ailly's *Mappa mundi*: C. M. de La Roncière, *L'Europe au moyen age* (Paris, 1969), 116 (*Agisimba*); P. Falchetta, *Fra Mauro's World Map* (Turnhout, 2006), *134, pp. 208–9 (*agisimba*); P. Falchetta, 'Il trattato "De navigatione" di Benedetto Cotrugli (1464–65). Edizione commentata del ms. Schoenberg 473. Con il testo del ms. 557 di Yale', *Studi Veneziani*, 57 (2009), Book I Ch. 49, pp. 105–6, 222 (*Agisimba*); *Ymago Mundi de Pierre d'Ailly, cardinal de Cambrai et chancelier de l'Universite de Paris, 1350–1420*, ed. M. Buron, 3 vols. (Paris, 1930), Ch. 8, pp. I:206–9 (*agesinba*). Maps which accompanied early manuscript translations of Ptolemy (the first printed edition only appeared in 1477), however, did not adopt this approach, and depicted *Agisimba* in Central Africa, unrelated to north-east Africa; for example: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS Lat. 4802, f.100v; Valencia, Universitat de València. Biblioteca Històrica MS 693, f.83v. Early printed editions did not conflate the two either; for example, Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Cosmographia* [Bologna, 1477], ed. R. A. Skelton (Amsterdam, 1963); Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Cosmographia* [Rome, 1478], ed. R. A. Skelton (Amsterdam, 1966); Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Cosmographia* [Ulm, 1482], ed. R. A. Skelton (Amsterdam, 1966); Francesco Berlinghieri, *Geographia* [Florence, 1482] (Amsterdam, 1966).

48 Compare: R. Voigt, 'Abyssinia', in EA: pp. I:59–65 and 'Aithiopia', in EA: pp. I:162–5; F. Breyer, 'Äthiopisches in altägyptischen Quellen? Eine kritische Evaluation', in *Multidisciplinary Views on the Horn of Africa: Festschrift in Honour of Rainer Voigt's 70th Birthday*, ed. H. Elliesie (Cologne, 2014), pp. 15–19; W. G. C. Smidt, 'The Term Ḥabäša: An Ancient Ethnonym of the "Abyssinian" Highlanders and Its Interpretations and Connotations', in *Multidisciplinary Views on the Horn of Africa*, ed. Elliesie, pp. 37–69.

49 Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, eds. and trans. Banks and Binns, pp. Preface, 14–5; Book II Ch. 3, 180–1 (text and trans.).

50 For example, see Strabo, *Geography*, ed. and trans. Jones, 2.5.33, pp. I:500–1 (text and trans.), *Stephani Byzantii Ethnica*, ed. M. Billerbeck, 5 vols. (Berlin, 2006–17), A533, I:302–3 (text and trans.).

51 Paulus Orosius, *Historiae Adversus Paganos Libri VII*, ed. K. Zangemeister (Stuttgart, 1889), Book I, I (text); Paulus Orosius, *Seven Books of History Against the Pagans*, trans. A. T. Fear (Liverpool, 2010), 37 (trans.).

52 D. Selden, 'How the Ethiopian Changed His Skin', *Classical Antiquity*, 32.2 (2013), pp. 340–1; Hatke, *Aksum and Nubia*, pp. 52–3.

53 On proposed reasoning for the Sabaic inscriptions, see A. Sima, 'Die "sabäische" Version von König ʿĒzānās Trilingue RIE 185 und RIE 185bis', *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 50 (2003/2004), pp. 269–84. George Hatke has argued that *Aithiopia* does indeed correspond to the Gəʿəz text, but this would ignore the significance of the order of the toponyms: Hatke, *Aksum and Nubia*, pp. 52–3. On the peoples in the inscriptions, see C. Hoffman, 'Ethnizität und Ethnogenesen am Horn von Afrika nach den Inschriften von König ʿEzānā', in *Multidisciplinary Views on the Horn of Africa*, ed. Elliesie, pp. 217–51. On ʿEzana's diplomatic methods, see Z. Rubin, 'Greek and Ge'ez in the Propaganda of King 'Ezana of Axum: Religion and Diplomacy in Late Antiquity', *Semitica et Classica*, 5 (2012), pp. 139–50. All of the cited RIE inscriptions can be found in the first volume of the following, with translations of the Greek inscriptions to be found in volume three A (2000) and of the Gəʿəz and Sabaic inscriptions in volume three B (2019): E. Bernand, A. J. Drewes, R. Schneider, M. Kropp, and H. Stroomer, eds., *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite*, 3 vols. in 4 parts (Paris and Wiesbaden, 1991–2019).

54 RIE no.277.

55 RIE no.271.

56 W. Hahn, 'Das Kreuz mit dem Abessinierland – Epigraphische Anmerkungen zu einer axumitischen Münzlegende', *Mitteilungsblatt des Instituts für Numismatik*, 18 (1999), pp. 5–8; W. Hahn, 'The "Anonymous" Coinage of Aksum – Typological Concept and Religious Significance', *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter*, 184, (2005), pp. 6–8.

57 For example, see RIE nos.189; 191; 192. This is especially apparent on coins.

58 Hatke, *Aksum and Nubia*, pp. 153–4n649. It appears amongst Kalēb's vassals in RIE no.191.

59 M. A. Knibb, *Translating the Bible: The Ethiopic Version of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 14–19.

60 On the question of the influences on the early Ethiopian Bible, see Knibb, *Translating the Bible*.

61 For an overview of Ethiopian translation, see A. Bausi, 'Translations in Late Antique Ethiopia', in *Egitto crocevia di traduzioni*, ed. F. Crevatin (Trieste, 2018), pp. 69–99.

62 Knibb, *Translating the Bible*, pp. 46–54; M. A. Knibb, 'The Ethiopic Translation of the Psalms', in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen: Symposium in Göttingen 1997*, eds. A. Aejmelaeus and U. Quast (Göttingen, 2000), pp. 107–22.

63 *Vie de Lalibela: Roi d'Éthiopie*, ed. and trans. J. Perruchon (Paris, 1892), xxx.

64 M.-L. Derat, 'Les donations du roi Lālibalā: Éléments pour une géographie du royaume chrétien d'Éthiopie au tournant du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle', *Annales d'Éthiopie*, 25 (2010), pp. 19–42, esp. 36–7; Derat, *L'énigme d'une dynastie sainte*, pp. 87–145.

65 Shiferaw Bekele, 'The Genesis of Ethiopian Nationalism in Late Antique and Early Medieval Ethiopia in Light of Recent Historical and Philological Research', in *Written Sources about Africa and Their Study: Le fonti scritte sull'Africa e i loro studi*, eds. M. Lafkioui and V. Brugnatelli (Milan, 2018), pp. 3–18. On the *homily*, see M. Villa, 'Frumentius in the Ethiopic Sources: Some Text Critical Considerations', RSE, *3ª Serie*, 1 (2017), pp. 87–112.

66 For Ṭanṭawədəm's use of Solomon, see Derat, *L'énigme d'une dynastie sainte*, pp. 35–40.

67 On Salama IV, see S. Munro-Hay, *Ethiopia and Alexandria II: The Metropolitan Episcopacy of Ethiopia from the Fourteenth Century to the Zemana Mesafint*

(Warsaw, 2005), pp. 17–19. For the context of the wider Ethiopian translation movement, see Z. Wellnhofer, 'Die arabisch-altäthiopische Übersetzungsliteratur im historischen Kontext des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts', in *Multidisciplinary Views on the Horn of Africa*, ed. Elliesie, pp. 467–95; A. Bausi, 'Ethiopic Literary Production Related to the Christian Egyptian Culture', in *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times: Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Rome, September 17th–22nd, 2012, and Plenary Reports of the Ninth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Cairo, September 15th–19th, 2008*, eds. P. Buzi, A. Camplani, and F. Contari, 2 vols. (Leuven, 2016), pp. I:503–71; A. Bausi, 'Ethiopia and the Christian Ecumene: Cultural Transmission, Translation, and Reception', in *A Companion*, ed. Kelly, pp. 217–51.

68   C. Bezold, *Kebra Nagast: Die Herrlichkeit der Könige* (Munich, 1905), pp. 172–3 (text), 138 (trans.); *La Gloire des Rois, ou l'Histoire de Salomon et de la reine de Saba*, trans. R. Beylot (Turnhout, 2008), pp. 383–4 (trans.). Given the importance of the text, it would be important to note that there is an English translation, though it should be used with caution: *The Queen of Sheba and Her Only Son Menyelek*, trans. E. A. W. Budge (London, 1922).

69   On the text's role for dynastic legitimisation, see R. Beylot, 'Du Kebra Nagast', *Aethiopica*, 7 (2004), pp. 74–83; P. Piovanelli, 'The Apocryphal Legitimation of a "Solomonic" Dynasty in the *Kebrä nägäst* – A Reappraisal', *Aethiopica*, 16 (2013), pp. 7–44; P. Piovanelli, '"Orthodox" Faith and Political Legitimization of a "Solomonic" Dynasty of Rulers in the Ethiopic Kebra Nagast', in *The Armenian Apocalyptic Tradition: A Comparative Perspective: Essays Presented in Honor of Professor Robert W. Thomson on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, eds. K. B. Bardakjian and S. La Porta (Leiden, 2014), pp. 688–705.

70   On the literary sources of the text, see M. Richelle, 'Les sources littéraires du *Kebra Nagast*', *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies*, 64.1–2 (2012), pp. 41–52.

71   See primarily: I. Shahīd, 'The *Kebra Nagaśt* in the Light of Recent Research', in *Languages and Cultures*, ed. Bausi, pp. 253–98; D. W. Johnson, 'Dating the *Kebra Nagaśt*. Another Look', in *Languages and Cultures*, ed. Bausi, pp. 299-311; S. Munro-Hay, 'A Sixth Century Kebra Nagast?', in *Languages and Cultures*, ed. Bausi, pp. 313–28. On the role of the *Kəbrä nägäśt* as a response to events in late antiquity more broadly, see, for example: G. W. Bowersock, 'Helena's Bridle and the Chariot of Ethiopia', in *Antiquity in Antiquity: Jewish and Christian Pasts in the Greco-Roman World*, eds. G. Gardner and K. L. Osterloh (Tübingen, 2008), pp. 383–93; M. Debié, 'Le *Kebra Nagast* éthiopien: une réponse apocryphe aux événements de Najran?', in *Juifs et chrétiens en Arabie aux Ve et VIe siècles: regards croisés sur les sources*, eds. J. Beaucamp, F. Briquel-Chatonnet, and C. J. Robin (Paris, 2010), pp. 255–78; G. Bevan, 'Ethiopian Apocalyptic and the End of Roman Rule: The Reception of Chalcedon in Aksum and the *Kebra Nagaśt*', in *Inside and Out: Interactions Between Rome and the Peoples on the Arabian and Egyptian Frontiers in Late Antiquity*, eds. J. H. F. Dijkstra and G. Fisher (Leuven, 2014), pp. 371–88.

72   M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, Pars Sexta: Kitāb al-Masā-lik wa'l-Mamālik (Liber viarum et regnorum) auctore Abu'l-Kāsim Obaidallah ibn Abdallah ibn Khordādhbeh et excerpta e Kitāb al-Kharādj auctore Kodāma ibn Dja'far quae cum versione Gallica edidit, indicibus et glossario instruxit* (Leiden, 1889), 155 (text); Ibn Khordadbeh, *Le Livre des routes et des provinces*, trans. C. Barbier de Meynard (Paris, 1865), 265 (trans.).

73   Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS Copte 1, f.4a.

74   For example, see W. E. Crum, 'La Nubie dans le textes coptes', *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Egyptienne et Assyrienne*, 21 (1899), pp. 26–7.

75   Johnson, 'Dating the *Kebra Nagaśt*', 308.

76 For example, Berlin P.9287 (tenth century): *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den koe-niglichen Museen zu Berlin: Erster Band* (Berlin, 1904), 59.

77 al-Battānī, *Opus Astronomicum: ad fidem codicis Escurialensis Arabice editum*, ed. C. A. Nallino, 3 vols. (Milan, 1899–1907), III:239; A. Vasiliev, 'Kitab al-'Unvan: Histoire universelle écrite par Agapius (Mahoub) de Menbidj [premier partie]', *Patrologia Orientalis*, 5 (1910), 607 [51] (text and trans.).

78 *The Book of the Himyarites: Fragments of a Hitherto Unknown Syriac Work*, ed. and trans. A. Moberg (Lund, 1924), used throughout; *Incerti auctoris Chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum*, ed. J.-B. Chabot, 2 vols. (Leuven, 1927–33), pp. II:54–7; I. Shahīd, *The Martyrs of Najran: New Documents* (Brussels, 1971), pp. xxx–xxxi. For an example for Ḥabaša (ܚܒܫܐ), see *Das Buch von der Erkenntnis der Wahrheit*, ed. K. Kayser (Leipzig, 1889), 258 (text); OSCN, 248 (trans.). For Hindāyē (ܗܢܕܝܐ): *Chronique de Michel le Syrien: Patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166–1199)*, ed. J.-B. Chabot, 4 vols. (Paris, 1899–1910), Book XVI Ch. 2, IV:608 (text); *The Syriac Chronicle of Michael Rabo (The Great): A Universal History from the Creation*, trans. M. Moosa (Teaneck, 2014), 645 (trans.).

79 F. Nau, 'Révélationes et legends: Méthodius–Clément–Andronicus', *Journal Asiatique*, 9 (1917), pp. 432 (text), 443 (trans.).

80 Michael Rabo, *Teaṙn Mixayēli patriarkʻi asorwocʻ Žamanakagrutʻiwn*, ed. T. Sawalaneants (Jerusalem, 1870), 248 (text); *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, ed. Chabot, Book IX Ch. 19, IV:273 (text); *The Syriac Chronicle of Michael*, trans. Moosa, 318 (trans.).

81 *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. and trans. M. N. Adler (London, 1907), pp. וצו־זצ (text), 68–9 (trans.).

82 A. Bausi, 'La leggenda della Regina di Saba nella tradizione etiopica', in *La Regina di Saba: Un mito fra oriente e occidente*, eds. F. Battiato, D. Hartman, and G. Stabile (Napoli, 2016), pp. 91–162. For an overview of this text, see W. L. Belcher, 'African Rewritings of the Jewish and Islamic Solomonic Tradition: The Triumph of the Queen of Sheba in the Ethiopian Fourteenth-Century Text *Kəbrä Nägäst*', in *Sacred Tropes: Tanakh, New Testament, and Qur'an as Literary Works*, ed. R. Sabbath (Leiden, 2009), 441–59.

83 Josephus wrote that it was named after Cambyses' sister, whereas Strabo notes that some say that it was either named after his sister or his wife. Diodorus Siculus, however, says that it was named after Cambyses' mother: Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, Book 2, Ch. 249, in *Josephus*, ed. and trans. Thackeray, Marcus, and Feldman, pp. IV:272–3 (text and trans.); Strabo, *Geography*, ed. and trans. Jones, 17.1.5, pp. VIII:18–19 (text and trans.); Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, eds. and trans. various authors, 12 vols. (Cambridge, MA., 1933–67), 1.33, pp. I:108–9 (text and trans.). Other traditions, such as the account of Artapanus which was referenced by Eusebius in his *Praeparatio evangelica* (fl. c. early fourth century), recalled that the city of Meroë was named after the daughter of the Pharaoh, Merris, after her burial by Moses at the site of the city; however, Artapanus' work explicitly attempted to ascribe Judaism to the origin of the ancient Egyptian religion, so this explanation would appear most unlikely: K. Mras, *Eusebius: Werke VIII: Die Praeparatio evangelica*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1982–3), 9.27.16, I:521 (text); *Eusebii Pamphili Evangelicae Praeparationis*, vol. 3, trans. E. H. Gifford (Oxford, 1903), I:464 (trans.).

84 Compare, for example, S. L. McKenzie, *The Trouble with Kings: The Composition of the Book of Kings in the Deuteronomistic History* (Leiden, 1991) and B. Halpern and D. S. Vanderhooft, 'The Editions of Kings in the 7th–6th Centuries B.C.E.', *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 62 (1991), pp. 179–244.

85 Herodotus, *Histories*, ed. and trans. Godley, 2.29–30, pp. I:306–11 (text and trans.).

86 *Stephani Byzantii Ethnica*, ed. Billerbeck, N76, pp. III:394–5 (text and trans.); *Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. and trans. Adler, pp. וצ (text), 68 (trans.). Indeed, the Jewish traveller David Reubeni still spoke of post-Christian

early-sixteenth-century Nubia in terms of being the land of *Kūš* (כוש) and, most interestingly, the land of *Šeba* (שבא) during his visit to the Funj sultanate, a successor state in the more southerly lands of Christian kingdom, in 1523: A. Neubauer, ed., *Medieval Jewish Chronicles and Chronological Notes*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1887–95), II:133 (text); OSCN, pp. 746–7 (trans.).

87 For example, see Flint, 'Honorius Augustodunensis', Book I Ch. 32, 64.

88 B. Grossfeld, ed., *The Targum Sheni to the Book of Esther* (New York, 1994), pp. 31–3 (text); B. Grossfeld, trans., *The Two Targums of Esther: Translated, with Apparatus and Notes* (Collegeville, 1991), pp. 115–17 (trans.).

89 Further, see J. Humphris, R. Bussert, F. Alshishani, and T. Scheibner, 'The Ancient Iron Mines of Meroe', *Azania: Archaeological Research in Africa*, 53.3 (2018), pp. 291–311; R. Klemm and D. Klemm, *Gold and Gold Mining in Ancient Egypt and Nubia: Geoarchaeology of the Ancient Gold Mining Sites in the Egyptian and Sudanese Eastern Deserts*, trans. P. Larsen (Heidelberg, 2013).

90 For discussion of the earliest sources associating the Queen of Sheba with Ethiopia, see M.-L. Derat, 'The Zāgwē Dynasty (11–13th Centuries) and King Yemreḥanna Krestos', *Annales d'Ethiopie*, 25.1 (2010), pp. 168–9; Derat, *L'énigme d'une dynastie sainte*, pp. 66–8, 157–60.

91 For example, he calls the King (*malik*) of Makuria an Ethiopian (*al-Ḥabaša*): *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighbouring Countries Attributed to Abū Ṣāliḥ the Armenian*, ed. and trans. B. T. A. Evetts (Oxford, 1895), pp. 119–27, 135–42 (text), 260–74, 284–91 (trans.). This was not overly uncommon either. For instance, similar misattributions of *al-Ḥabaša* to Nubian locations can be witnessed in a fourteenth-century Copto-Arabic manuscript held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France MS Copte 43, which specifically equates the Coptic toponym of *Nobatia* (ⲚⲞⲂⲀⲦⲓⲀ) with *al-Ḥabaša al-Nūbah* (الحبشة النوبه): E. Amélineau, *La géographie de l'Egypte à l'époque copte* (Paris, 1893), 555.

92 On attested *kandakes*, see J. Phillips, 'Women in Ancient Nubia', in *Women in Antiquity: Real Women Across the Ancient World*, eds. S. L. Budin and J. M. Turfa (Abingdon, 2016), pp. 291–2; S. Ashby, 'Priestess, Queen, Goddess: The Divine Feminine in the Kingdom of Kush', in *The Routledge Companion to Black Women's Cultural Histories*, ed. J. Hobson (London, 2021), pp. 28–31. The name Həndakē appears only once in the *Kəbrä nägäśt* when Bäynä Ləḥkəm is explaining that he comes from the land of Həndakē and Ethiopia as he sought King Solomon: Bezold, *Kebra Nagast*, pp. 30 (text), 24 (trans.); *La Gloire des Rois*, trans. Beylot, 181.

93 Francisco Álvarez, *Verdadeira informação das terra do Preste João das Índias*, ed. L. de Albuquerque (Lisbon, 1989), Ch. 37, 38 (text); Francisco Álvarez, *The Prester John of the Indies: A True Relation of the Lands of the Prester John, Being the Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Ethiopia in 1520*, trans. C. F. Beckingham and G. W. B. Huntingford, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1961), I:149 (trans.).

94 Bezold, *Kebra Nagast*, pp. 36 (text), 29–30 (trans.); *La Gloire de Rois*, trans. Beylot, 191 (trans.); Wallis Budge, *Queen of Sheba*, pp. lxiv–lxv.

95 Piovanelli, '"Orthodox" Faith and Political Legitimization', 689n5.

96 Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Topographie chrétienne*, ed. and trans. Wolska-Conus, Book II Ch. 50, pp. I:358–9 (text and trans.). In relation to Muslim works, Ibn Hišām's eighth-century recension of Ibn Isḥāq's now lost *Sīra* was amongst early works to preserve a passage that locates the Queen in Ḥimyar – for example, F. Wüstenfeld, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, 3 vols. (Göttingen, 1858–60), pp. I:12–18 (text); *The Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Isḥāq's Sīrat rasūl allāh*, trans. A. Guillaume (Oxford, 1955), pp. 6–12 (trans.).

97 For example, ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon is recorded as the '*nəguś* of Ethiopia' (*nəguś ʾItyoṗya*: ንጉሠ፡ኢትዮጵያ) in his donation of a copy of the *Book of Kings* to the library of the Ethiopian community in Jerusalem: S. Grébaut and E. Tisserant, *Codices Aethiopici, Vaticani et Borgiani, Barberinianus Orientalis 2, Rossianus 865* (Vatican City, 1935), pp.786–7.

98   London, British Library, Or691, 241v.

99   Marco Polo, *The Description of the World*, eds. and trans. A.-C. Moule and P. Pelliot, 2 vols. (London, 1938), Ch. 193, pp. I:434–40.

100 For example, see W. Witakowski, 'Ethiopic Universal Chronography', in *Julius Africanus und die christliche Weltchronik*, ed. M. Wallraff (Berlin, 2006), pp. 285–302.

101 *Liber Axumae*, ed. and trans. C. Conti Rossini, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1909–10), Ch. I, pp. I:3, 6 (text); II:3, 6 (trans.). Equally, by 1540, the Ethiopian Ṣägga Zäʾab, the source for Damião de Góis, declared that his emperor should not be referred to as the emperor of *Abesynorum*, but of *Aethiopum*: Damião de Góis, *Fides, religio, moresque Aethiopum sub Imperio Preciosi Ioannis* (Leuven, 1540), 71.

102 G. Wiet, 'Les relations Égypto-Abyssines sous les sultans Mamlouks', *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte*, 4 (1938), pp. 122–5; J. Loiseau, 'The Ḥaṭī and the Sultan: Letters and Embassies from Abyssinia to the Mamluk Court', in *Mamluk Cairo, A Crossroads for Embassies: Studies on Diplomacy and Diplomatics*, eds. F. Bauden and M. Dekkiche (Leiden, 2019), pp. 640–1; J. Loiseau, 'Chrétiens d'Égypte, musulmans d'Éthiopie. Protection des communautés et relations diplomatiques entre le sultanat mamelouk et le royaume salomonien (ca. 1270–1516)', *Médiévales*, 79 (2020), pp. 37–68.

103 *Ourou* Kyriakus famously sent an army to Egypt in the mid-eighth century in retaliation to news of the persecution of Christians: R. Seignobos, 'Stratigraphie d'un récit. L'intervention égyptienne du roi Ciraque de Nubie dans l'historiographie copte-arabe et éthiopienne (Xᵉ–XVIIIᵉ siècle)', *Hypothèses*, 13 (2010), pp. 49–59. For the suggestion for Moüses Georgios as protector of Eastern Christians under the jurisdiction of the Coptic patriarchate, see A. Łajtar and G. Ochała, 'A Christian King in Africa: The Image of Christian Nubian Rulers in Internal and External Sources', in *The Good Christian Ruler in the First Millennium: Views from the Wider Mediterranean World in Conversation*, eds. P. M. Forness, A. Hasse-Ungeheuer, and H. Leppin (Berlin, 2021), pp. 366–7.

104 There has been no study on the proliferation of the toponym 'Ethiopia' in reference to the kingdom. However, as a brief indication, Ethiopia was still referred to as *al-Ḥabaša* and *Ḥabaš* in Arabic and Ottoman sources in the nineteenth century.

105 These are letters sent from Queen Regent ʾƎleni and *aṣé* Ləbnä Dəngəl: Sergew Hable Sellassie, 'The Geʿez Letters of Queen Eleni and Libne Dingil to John, King of Portugal', in *IV Congresso Internazionale di Studi Etiopici (Roma, 10–15 Aprile 1972)*, ed. E. Cerulli, 2 vols. (Rome, 1974), pp. I:547–66.

106 Barcelona, Archivo di Corona di Aragon, Reg. 2680, f. 165.

107 O. Raineri, ed., *Lettere tra i Pontefici Romani e i Principi Etiopici (Secoli XII–XX)* (Vatican City, 2005), pp. 24–31 (text and trans.).

108 Loiseau, 'The Ḥaṭī and the Sultan', 642; for references which note Arabic works which describe the content of some of these letters, see the references therein: pp. 643–5.

109 Хождение Архимандрита Агрефенья обители Пресвятой Богородицы около 1370 года, ed. L. Kavelin (St. Petersburg, 1896), 6 (text); S. de Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes en Orient* (Geneva, 1889), 173 (trans.).

110 'Vita et miracula Eustathii', in *Monumenta Aethiopiae Hagiologica*, ed. B. Turaiev, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1902–5), pp. III:f.34–5 (text); *Saints fondateurs du christianisme éthiopien: Frumentius, Garimā, Takla Hāymānot, Ēwosṭātēwos*, trans. G. Colin with C. J. Robin and M.-L. Derat (Paris, 2017), pp. 132–4 (trans.). For additional context of the king's name and possible alternative explanations, see O. Adankpo-Labadie, 'An Ethiopian Fugitive Allied with a Nubian King? Ēwosṭātēwos and Sābʾa Nol at Nobā through Hagiographical Narrative', *Dotawo: A Journal of Nubian Studies*, 6 (2019), pp. 15–17.

111 Adankpo-Labadie, 'An Ethiopian Fugitive', 11.

112 Adankpo-Labadie, 'An Ethiopian Fugitive'.
113 A. Łajtar and G. Ochała, 'An Unexpected Guest in the Church of Sonqi Tino (Notes on Medieval Nubian Toponymy 4)', *Dotawo: A Journal of Nubian Studies*, 4 (2017), pp. 257–68.
114 Raineri, ed., *Lettere*, pp. 32–5 (text and trans.); Francisco Álvarez, *Verdadeira*, ed. de Albuquerque, Ch. 37, 38 (text); Francisco Álvarez, *Prester John*, trans. Beckingham and Huntingford, I:149 (trans.). According to the fourteenth-century *Cronica Universalis* of Galvaneus de la Flamma (d. c. 1345), a section entitled *Ystoria Ethyopie* states that Ethiopians explicitly worshipped the eunuch of Queen Candace because he was their first bishop following his baptism by Philip. For reasons detailed in Chapter 6, this text should be viewed as originally focusing on Nubia, but it cannot be surely rejected that similar such information was provided by later Ethiopians who appear to have given the text a new direction following interest in the expansions of ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon (r. 1314–44) similar to the narrative given to Francisco Álvarez: A. Bausi and P. Chiesa, 'The *Ystoria Ethyopie* in the *Cronica Universalis* of Galvaneus de la Flamma (d. c. 1345)', *Aethiopica*, 22 (2019), pp. 26–7 (text and trans.).

2 Knowing Nubia and Ethiopia on the Eve of the Crusades

On the eve of the Crusades, nothing is known about Nubian or Ethiopian knowledge of the contemporary affairs of the Latin Christians. Comparatively, the Latin Christian recording of contemporary African affairs had been largely stagnant for some time. At the turn of the second millennium, multiple Latin Christian writers lamented the inactivity of their predecessors in producing new works of knowledge more generally. Even well into the twelfth century, such ignorance was bemoaned by Richard of Poitiers (d. c. 1174), a Benedictine monk at Cluny, who explained the reason for the writing of his chronicle with the following statement:

> Whilst I may seem foolish to write juvenile things, that is in copying, compiling, and the collecting of passages of the histories of the ancients in a single work, yet nothing would be more profitable in our time, especially since the scarcity or the inactivity of writers has almost rendered the deeds of the last four hundred years into obscurity.[1]

A picture of intellectual deterioration was similarly painted in 1146 by abbot Macarius of Fleury who ordered the focus of an annual payment to address the abbey's manuscripts which were in a state of decay because of moths and worms.[2] Whether reflecting reality or relaying an intellectual trope, early second-millennium Latin Christian writers desired to highlight a perceived decline of knowledge production in their time. In the case of Africa, this was certainly true and almost nothing was recorded by any Latin Christian regarding contemporary events in either Nubia or Ethiopia between the seventh and eleventh centuries. For example, even though the famous supposed alliance against the Jewish king of Ḥimyar between the *nəguś* of ʾAksum, ʾƐllä ʾAṣbǝḥa (also known as Kalēb), and the Byzantine emperor, Justin I, sometime around c. 520–5 – which some also fabled the Christian conversion of the *nəguś* of ʾAksum to as a result of his Christian-inspired victory – did, albeit rarely, reappear during these centuries in Latin Europe, such as by the famous ninth-century papal librarian and translator, Anastasius, no known surviving sources suggest that any later updates on affairs or events, whether detailing Ethiopia or Nubia, were recorded.[3] Latin texts produced during the centuries immediately prior to the launching of the Crusades present a

picture of a Christian African hinterland now disconnected from the north-ern Mediterranean; a stark contrast to before the end of (late) antiquity. The current African evidence portrays just as limited a picture. In the absence of comparative Nubian and Ethiopian evidence, this chapter aims to contextu-alise the Latin Christian knowledge of Christian Nubia and Ethiopia leading up to and during the First Crusade before the developments of the twelfth century witnessed the production of Latin Christian knowledge which began to provide a complete opposite narrative of Nubia and Ethiopia – namely, their 'reacknowledgement' as powerful and influential regional Christian north-east African kingdoms.

Between Late Antiquity and the First Crusade: An Intellectual Rupture?

It is clear that Greco-Latin writers writing in the first half of the first millen-nium detail a much greater awareness of contemporary Nubian and Ethiopian affairs, not least on account of flourishing direct and indirect connectivity. Prior to the source silence of the late first millennium, various African groups, particularly economic, religious, military, and political diasporas – not to forget enslaved and manumitted diasporas (and their descendants) – were central to informing many Latin and Greek writers' understanding of Africa. The populations of Lower Nubia were known by their own chosen ethno-nyms, such as the Nobades and the Blemmyes, for instance.[4] There is also the rare example of John of Biclar writing in his *Chronica* of an embassy sent to Emperor Justin II in Constantinople by the Makuritans (*Maccurritarum*) in 573, the central of the three Nubian kingdoms at the time.[5] Likewise, this is also true of the use of the Ethiopian toponym of ʾAksum, as well as the historic references to Meroë, both indigenous toponyms of their respective peoples (*ʾksm*/*Medewi*). Certainly, there had been a long history of the African etymologies of Greco-Latin toponyms for African geographies being explicitly stated by classical authors too. One set of such examples are the Nilotic tributary rivers the *Astaboras*, *Astapus*, and the *Astasobas*, which appear in Strabo and subsequent Greco-Latin writings.[6] Often, these rivers merely appeared for their geographic nature, but Pliny the Elder (d. 79 CE) highlights the Meroitic origin of the toponyms. He specifically described the Astaboras as a river 'which in their language means water flowing from the darkness' (*quod illarum gentium lingua significat aquam e tenebris profluen-tem*), with similar 'water' etymologies for the Astapus ('branch of water com-ing out of the darkness': *ramus aquae venientis e tenebris*) and the *Astusapes* ('which signifies side [branch of water]': *quod lateris significationem adicit*).[7] The first half of these toponyms of the rivers reflect the Proto-Meroitic word *asta* ('river/water'; Meroitic *ato*, 'water'), with the origin of the second half of each still up for debate, whether signifying local groups or other Meroitic nouns that are yet to be understood, particularly if a literal understanding of Pliny's etymologies is to be taken. The dissemination of such toponyms and ethnonyms highlights how Nubians and Ethiopians often informed

Greco-Latin writers of (late) antiquity of their geography and, on occasion, political affairs. One intimate example of the latter can be further illustrated by the contemporary referencing of *nəguś* Kalēb in relation to his invasion of Ḥimyar by his throne name, Ǝllä Aṣbäḥa, as either *ʾElesbaas* (Ἐλεσβαὰς), *Hellesthaeos*, or a similar variant. This detail has interesting contrasts with earlier texts which only note ʾAksum's fourth-century conversion to Christianity under ʿEzana by the ruler's personal name (for example, Ἀιζανᾶ), rather than his throne name.[8] Greco-Latin knowledge of Kalēb's throne name almost certainly attests to direct Ethiopian informants in the dissemination of information whereas the seemingly less intimate chronicling of ʿEzana's more generally well-known personal name may suggest an acquisition of knowledge via indirect non-Ethiopian sources. In any case, the evidence for the active role of Nubians and Ethiopians informing Greco-Latin writers finds numerous examples like those noted here which all but stop by the latter half of the first millennium.

The more immediate predecessors of the Latin Christian writers who produced works around the time of the First Crusade appear to not have had similar intimate knowledge networks for writing about either Nubia or Ethiopia. Clear contemporary evidence for the continued Nubian or Ethiopian informing of Latin European knowledge regarding Christian Africa at the turn of the second millennium, such as the appearance of indigenous ethnonyms, toponyms, or names (personal, throne, or otherwise) is currently lacking. The most immediate explanation would appear to be the Byzantine losses of its African provinces in the seventh century and the potential disruption of previous networks. There is certainly some indicative evidence of this. For example, the prior highly integrated exchanges between Nubia, Egypt, and sometimes places further afield across the Mediterranean, are represented in the thousands of fragments of pottery found at Qasr Ibrim in Lower Nubia, dating from the fourth century, though, significantly, Mediterranean connections in the ceramic evidence appears to end in the seventh century.[9] Equally in the case of Ethiopia, the diffusion of Latin words, either as a result of direct contact or via Greek, dramatically declines in Gəʿəz by the seventh century, suggesting disruptions to religious diasporas who largely directed the nature and dissemination of these words in addition to commercial connectivity.[10] There appears to have been some sort of physical and intellectual rupture in the seventh century, but was it terminal? In the case of post-seventh-century Greek writers, Vassilios Christides has framed the works of latter centuries as reflecting an increasing Byzantine ignorance of, notably north-east, Africa.[11] Yet, it cannot be escaped that the surviving Greek sources are primarily written by influential Constantinopolitans who naturally would have a primary focus on their city and internal politics, rather than events now outside of the empire in Africa.[12] Indeed, 'Ethiopians' continued to be portrayed in a variety of ways within Byzantium in art, literature, and performance. How far these portrayals represent the presence of African diasporas, however, is more difficult to ascertain from the available evidence.[13] As for Latin Europe, there is limited suggestive evidence of some

post-seventh-century continuation of physical continuity, even if it was not seemingly associated with intellectual production.

Whilst archaeology always offers hope for the uncovering of new material to enlighten the case for the avenues for continued connectivity, there are currently some examples which support the fact in relation to Nubia and, to a more limited degree, Ethiopia for the centuries immediately prior to the turn of the second millennium. Firstly, it has been posited by Bent Juel-Jensen and Stuart Munro-Hay that the striking resemblance of eighth-century coins of King Offa to the sixth-century ʾAksumite coin which was reportedly excavated near Hastings in England is potentially significant and may be suggestive of a positive correlation between the designs of ʾAksumite coins and those of King Offa.[14] Dating the life activity, or indeed afterlife, of coins is notoriously difficult, yet the ʾAksumite coin poses many more questions than it answers. No other evidence for such an assertion has come to light, and the ʾAksumite coin has instead been described as a stray Byzantine find; indicating that England's connections to ʾAksum may have been, at best, secondary, tertiary, or even further removed.[15] Too little else is currently known to support any greater picture of potential late-ʾAksumite, or even post-ʾAksumite, inter-regional connectivity with Latin Europe. A similar circumstantial example has been argued for Nubian-Italian connectivity in the latter centuries of the first millennium. Bogdan Żurawski has described the Anastasis scene at Banganarti in Nubia, which dates to between c. 850 and c. 1050, as having striking similarities to certain examples found in Rome, particularly for its dark contrasting background – specifically the contemporary Anastasis' at the churches of San Clemente and San Giovanni e Paulo – especially when compared with the traditional Byzantine or Coptic versions of the scene, including the one other known Nubian example at Faras. This has led Żurawski to suggest that an artistic import from Rome is the most plausible explanation for the scene's style, which would offer evidence for otherwise undocumented connectivity between Nubia and Latin Europe, whether an Italian painted the Anastasis at Banganarti or a Nubian artist imported this style themselves after residing for a time in the Italian peninsula.[16]

More questions are posed when we consider religious diasporas, notably those who travelled to Santiago de Compostela in northern Spain. In 1203, the Nubian 'king' witnessed in Constantinople by the Fourth Crusaders (1202–4) was said to have desired to continue his travels towards Santiago de Compostela via Rome. However, current evidence indicates a lack of a strong cult of St. James in Nubia to explain the desire of the 'king' in 1203.[17] This would then appear to be rhetoric employed by the Latin Christian author, Robert of Clari, but Nubians were said elsewhere to be present at the shrine in the twelfth-century *Codex Calixtinus*, which also contains a guide to the Santiago pilgrimage, whilst Ibn Marrākušī in the early fourteenth century noted the presence of Christian Nubians (*al-Nūbah*), seemingly undertaking pilgrimage, just south of the shrine in 997 during the expedition of al-Manṣūr (r. 978–1002).[18] Very little else exists to illuminate any such presence, yet the question of any presence addresses issues far beyond a simple matter of its

existence. For example, given that Nubia's Christianity was fundamentally shaped by Byzantine missionaries, not only is it important that Byzantine Christians showed an overwhelming disinterest in Santiago for a plausible explanation of cultural adoption by the Nubians, but it is also significant that the shrine only developed from the ninth century, long after Nubia's conversion and during a period of apparent disconnect with the wider Mediterranean.[19] It then stands to reason that the most plausible explanation for Nubian interest in the shrine was seemingly inspired by continued interactions with Latin Christian Europe in an otherwise currently unknown capacity which resulted in the Nubian adoption of Santiago de Compostela as a pilgrimage destination sometime in the ninth or tenth centuries. We may tentatively add here Ethiopians, too, but they are only recorded at the shrine from the fifteenth century and were not noted by Ibn Marrākušī – their appearance in the *Codex Calixtinus* is inconclusive – so no more can be said. Why, then, if some degree of connectivity possibly, if not likely, remained, did the apparent absence of knowledge displayed in the texts soon to be discussed occur?

Before moving to the First Crusade, it is also important to highlight that the question of apparent Latin Christian ignorance versus actual connectivity also applies elsewhere in Africa and was not specific to either Nubia or Ethiopia. This disparity between connectivity and knowledge production is perhaps most striking when we consider Latin Christian sources for West Africa. For example, there is also almost a complete absence of any surviving Latin Christian recorded knowledge of the largest West African kingdom prior to the First Crusade, the Wangaran kingdom of Ghāna, which encompassed large tracts of land in modern Mali and Mauritania.[20] The history of Ghāna before the ninth century, when the earliest surviving Arabic texts discuss the kingdom, is obscure, though archaeology reveals regional urbanisation and inter-regional connectivity, including with the Mediterranean, by the mid-first millennium, both including Ghāna and neighbouring centres, such as Gao.[21] The sixteenth-century text of the Timbuktu-based Maḥmūd Kaʿti, the *Taʾrīkh al-Fattāš*, which was subsequently expanded by Ibn al-Mukhtār in the following century, declares that Ghāna was ruled by 20 kings before the time of the Prophet Muḥammad and declined in the eighth century.[22] The early date for the kingdom's decline would appear to conflict earlier Muslim writers who continued to mention it from the ninth century, though it is possible that there was a dynastic change which explains both notions of an end and a continuation. The influence of the authorial motive within the *Taʾrīkh al-Fattāš*, which was designed to legitimise the historic nature of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Mali's Islamic past, cannot be overlooked when considering this supposed chronology.[23] The *Taʾrīkh al-Fattāš* does, however, potentially highlight the dichotomy between northern Mediterranean material connectivity with Africa and the lack of a correlation with intellectual discourse. For instance, the *Taʾrīkh al-Fattāš* describes Ghāna as the kingdom of the *Kayamaga* (كيمغ), explicitly stating that this title meant the 'king of gold' in Wangaran, further giving the exact etymology of *kaya* (كيهو),

'gold', and *magha[n]* (مغ), 'king' (*malik*).[24] The absence of Byzantine references to Ghāna is potentially surprising if, as David Phillipson has argued, Saharan gold was used in the mints of Byzantine North Africa, thus indicating routes of contact, either directly or via Imazighen intermediaries.[25] Similar observations could be made for Latin Europe. References to gold are so frequent in Muslim accounts of the kingdom throughout the period in question that it would suggest that any northern Mediterranean connection to this trade would have spurred intellectual inquisitiveness similar to the post-fourteenth-century Latin European ideas of the wealth of West Africa. Gold had long been associated with the existence of a great lake in West Africa from where it was supposedly traded – an historical understanding of the flooding of the Niger delta – but this does not appear to have resulted in Latin European knowledge of Ghāna during the centuries of its primacy.[26] Even on the eve of the First Crusade, there appears to have been no recorded Latin Christian awareness of the supposed Almoravid 'conquest' of Ghāna of 1076 despite the Almoravids facilitating many interactions with Latin Christendom following their conquests in the Iberian Peninsula from 1086.[27]

In the case of Ghāna, its documenting in Latin Europe would also appear to have suffered from the activity of writers as decried by Richard of Poitiers. Yet, evidence for connectivity between the region and the Mediterranean into the early second millennium does appear.[28] One notable example is recalled by al-Bakrī (d. 1094), who related a story that King Ferdinand I of Castile and León (r. 1035/37–65) had been brought a *mandīl* ('hankerchief') by a merchant from the land of the Sūdān of West Africa made from a material found in the region which could not burn and which was said to have belonged to one of the Apostles. After showering the merchant with great riches, Ferdinand was then said to have sent this 'relic' to the emperor in Constantinople for its display in the Hagia Sophia (?, lit. 'their [the Byzantine's] great church', *kanīsatahum al-ʿuẓmā*: كنيستهم العظمى) who then sent a crown in return for Ferdinand to be invested with.[29] The arrival of other West African cloth in Latin Europe at this time, known as *bouracan/bougran*, also illustrates the diversity of West Afro-European connectivity in addition to the foundational trades of gold, ivory, and slaves.[30] No Latin European sources validate al-Bakrī's anecdote, but it is clear that the absence of recorded knowledge may not necessarily translate as being indicative of a lack of interaction. Largely coincidently, and without any accompanying narrative information, the toponym of Ghāna only first appears as *Gana* in a translation of geographical Arabic tables in 1141 in the work of Raymond of Marseille, as contemporary West Africa remained obscure for over another century.[31] The Latin Christian perceived ignorance of West Africa, despite evidence for connectivity, highlights the importance of the role of the author, and of their discourse, in knowledge production which underpins the temporal focuses of Latin Christian writers between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries which will be discussed in subsequent chapters. Even though it would appear that there was a lack of contemporary knowledge in circulation regarding various regions of Africa in Latin Europe between the seventh and eleventh centuries, it may actually reflect an

absence of perceived importance awarded to these regions by Latin Christian writers, rather than an absence of knowledge or connectivity. This framing would also explain why Nubia and Ethiopia gained primary importance in the Latin Christian texts of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries as they gained the significance of being desired potential allies.

Whilst the eleventh century may paint a picture of a disconnected Africa and Latin Europe, such a view may actually be unreflective of reality and is the product of source survival and authorial motives which commonly focused on other issues. Whatever may be said about the degrees of direct and indirect connectivity, certainly any awareness of the contemporary affairs of either Nubia or Ethiopia by the Latin Christians upon the launch of the First Crusade (1095–9) does not feature in the surviving textual corpus. An inconsistent or lack of knowledge by Latin Christian writers of Muslim West Africa may be understandable but even Nubia's and Ethiopia's Christianity, a uniting force in the connections of late antiquity, was a distant memory in the rhetoric of the First Crusade. Neither Nubia nor Ethiopia were of concern to the First Crusaders and instead primarily featured initially in observations of their inclusion in the enemy Fāṭimid armies. As far as the intellectual textual corpus reveals, Africa and Latin Europe were worlds apart, and any connectivity did not translate into any contemporary knowledge being recorded by either Latin Christians, Nubians, or Ethiopians of each other on either side of the Mediterranean in the surviving texts dating to the centuries immediately prior to 1095. So why did this change from the twelfth century following the First Crusade and the establishment of the Crusader States?

The Crusades' Introduction to Nubia and Ethiopia in Context

Centuries of seeming stagnation in Latin European knowledge of a contemporary Africa would, at first, appear to have little in connection with the Crusades. After all, prior to the thirteenth century, the earliest Crusades were centred on the Holy Land, not focusing on any part of Africa at all. Yet, the (re)introduction of Nubia and Ethiopia to the Latin Christians serves to emphasise the increasing importance placed on them by the second half of the twelfth century following what would appear to have been a rather sudden re-emergence in Latin Christian intellectual discourse, due to their geographical proximity to the Crusader States, after centuries of neglect. Following the final loss of the Crusader States in 1291, Nubia and Ethiopia soon found themselves being key elements in Latin Christian recovery plans to reconquer the Holy Land and many Latin Christian hopes of victory over the Mamlūks hinged on the building of successful relationships with both of these kingdoms in the following decades and centuries. However, this was not at all the case for the earliest Crusaders who knew very little about the Christian African lands closest to the epicentre of the Crusades, particularly regarding the current situation of 'Ethiopia'. The First Crusade continued the Latin tradition of textual ignorance of contemporary African affairs,

both in its rhetoric and in its planning, but it was the catalyst for this whole process of later knowledge development. How and why, then, did Nubia and Ethiopia evolve from being seemingly obscure places to becoming central features of later Crusade discourses? Firstly, it is important to understand how these places were understood upon the launch of the First Crusade in 1095 prior to these later developments.

From the outset, the early First Crusade narrative was one that described the expedition as entering a vast region where Christianity was in decline. This depiction of the East, which included 'Ethiopia', was said to have been first born out of Pope Urban II's famous speech at Clermont in 1095, which launched the initial Crusade. For example, Guibert of Nogent (wr. revised until c. 1121), abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Nogent, recalled Urban supposedly declaring very clearly the position of the 'Ethiopians' to the potential Crusaders at Clermont:

> According to the prophet, [the Antichrist] will undoubtedly kill three kings pre-eminent for their faith in Christ, that is, the kings of Egypt, of [North] Africa, and of *Ethiopiae*. This cannot happen at all, unless Christianity is established where paganism now rules. Therefore if you are eager to carry out pious battles, and since you have accepted the seed-bed of the knowledge of God from Jerusalem, then you may restore the grace that was borrowed there. Thus through you the name of Catholicism will be propagated, and it will defeat the perfidy of the Antichrist and of the Antichristians. Who can doubt that God, who surpasses every hope by means of his overflowing strength, may so destroy the reeds of paganism with your spark that he may gather Egypt, Africa and *Ethiopiam*, which no longer share our belief, into the rules of his law, and 'sinful man, the son of perdition', will find others resisting him?[32]

Prior to that declaration, Urban was also said to have stated that Islam 'first covered the name of Christ, but now it has wiped out his name from the furthest corners of the entire East, from Africa, Egypt, *Ethiopiae*, Libya, and even the remote coasts of Spain – a country near us'.[33] Clearly, at least rhetorically, the Christians of Nubia, and we could also add here Ethiopia, were now but a historical memory as far as the Latin Christians were concerned.

Despite such rhetoric, it was not as if the Latin Christians were disconnected from certain African Christian communities, even if not the Nubians and Ethiopians. For instance, despite Urban apparently also decrying the loss of Christianity in North Africa too, Pope Gregory VII (r. 1073–85) concerned himself greatly with North African Christians. In a letter to the bishop of Carthage in 1076, Gregory opened with

> it has come to our attention … when old Christianity was flourishing [in North Africa] it was ruled by a very large number of bishops, [but it] has fallen into such dire straits that it does not have three bishops for the ordination of a bishop.

This new bishop was to be sent to Rome to be ordained so that he may return and provide much-needed pastoral oversight and alleviate the oppressive labour of North African Christians.[34] The situation may not have been thriving, but it was not disconnected. Contact between the Latin papacy and North Africa is not overly surprising, as the North African Church, unlike the Christians of Egypt, Nubia, and Ethiopia, remained under Rome's jurisdiction throughout its existence.[35] Indeed, North African Christians maintained their links with Rome and other Latin Christian areas of the Mediterranean, and the population may not have been as in turmoil as Latin Christian sources would otherwise suggest, particularly prior to the twelfth century.[36] The exchanging of letters also reiterates the problems of tracing knowledge using only narrative sources. Chronicles, for example, shed little light on the matter but knowledge still flowed along the news networks of the wider Mediterranean, such as those which informed Gregory of the plight of Christianity in North Africa. Indeed, Isabelle Dolezalek has highlighted the textile exchanges between North African and Sicilian churches into the twelfth century, for example, suggesting that these communities were certainly not isolated, though there are, of course, questions over the strength of such connections in the previous century.[37] Notably, however, despite Gregory making 'crusade' plans as early as 1074 and concerning himself with the affairs of North African Christians, North African Christians became erased from the early crusade narrative as told by early writers and, like the Nubians and Ethiopians, became rhetorical spectres of the past.[38]

If knowledge of North African Christianity could be erased by the rhetoric of absence, the same could easily have been applied to the more distant 'Ethiopians'. More generally, a notable fact about the First Crusaders is that they largely remained as ignorant of details of other Christians as they were of the theology of the Muslims who they were being sent to fight. This was especially true in relation to the Christian African groups present in the Holy Land who were not subject to the Latin papacy, whether Nubians, Ethiopians, or, to a lesser extent, the Copts of Egypt.[39] Moreover, evidence of Latin contact with wider Eastern Christian groups, despite being the collective Christians the Crusaders hoped to 'liberate', is scant.[40] This was despite the fact that, to some contemporary Latin writers, the Latin papacy acted as the protector of all Christians in both the East and the West, even though this had the clear caveat that Latin Christianity maintained superiority.[41] The centuries of schisms, with the most recent being the so-called Great Schism with the Greek Church in 1054, did little to facilitate favourable constant cordial and well-informed relations. Whilst it is not much of a surprise that no evidence for Latin correspondence with the churches of Nubia and Ethiopia exists as they were subordinate to the Patriarch of Alexandria, no eleventh-century letters survive between the Latin papacy and the Coptic papacy either. It is possible that news could have been gathered via Byzantium, whose own patriarch held a self-styled role as the ecumenical patriarch, though communication with either Nubia or Ethiopia is circumstantial, and evidence of contact between the Byzantine patriarch and Latin leaders is again lacking.[42] Only limited eleventh-century evidence

survives of contact between the Latin papacy and other eastern church leaders prior to the First Crusade.[43] In regards to Nubia and Ethiopia, the continuation of the *History of the Patriarchs* (originally started in the tenth century by Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, the Coptic Bishop of Ashmunein, and added to over later centuries by various authors) records how the Coptic See moved from Alexandria further south to Cairo during the reign of Pope St. Christodoulos (r. 1046–77), apparently wanting to make it easier to receive the many messengers received from Nubia and Ethiopia.[44] Such an act highlights the importance of the relationship between the north-east African churches and the potential scope for the knowledge networks that Latin communication with the Coptic papacy, either directly or via Byzantine networks, would have enabled. Instead, such fractured networks only served to inhibit the reception and access to information.

The disconnect between the churches is apparent in the absence of Latin knowledge of the miaphysite ecumenical proclamation of faith between the churches of Egypt, Armenia, Syria, Nubia, and Ethiopia in 1088.[45] Unbeknown to the First Crusaders, they were arriving into a theologically united land which shared, at least rhetorically, their opposition to the Muslims. Whilst the shared proclamation did not result in conflict between Eastern Christians and Muslims in the eastern Mediterranean to warrant a special strategic interest by the Latins, the Latin ignorance of it further emphasises the mentality of the First Crusade. The Crusade was misguided by a flawed belief in its ultimate success and, despite the reported rhetoric of Urban's speech at Clermont, at least as told by Guibert of Nogent, Eastern Christians were not needed to fulfil their objective – though some, such as the Armenians, were often significant allies of the Latin Christians – even though the 'liberation' of Eastern Christians more generally was maintained as one of the Crusade's primary objectives.[46] Any attempts at intelligence gathering prior to the First Crusade on any matters, whether political or theological regarding the local Christian populations, appears to have been non-existent. Yet, whether the textual disconnect was truly the result of ignorance or is a product of source survival will remain a key question.[47]

If the Crusaders had taken care to learn about the situation in the Holy Land and the surrounding region, they may have become aware of tensions between Ethiopia and Egypt which may have been worth trying to exploit regardless of whether this may actually have been a possibility. As narrated in the continuation of the *History of the Patriarchs*, Ethiopia required a new abun to be consecrated by the Coptic papacy during the reign of Pope St. Kyril II (r. 1078–92). The vizier of Egypt, Badr al-Jamālī, however, disapproved of Kyril's original choice and pressured for the appointment of his own candidate. When al-Jamālī's candidate was appointed to maintain good relations between Egypt and Ethiopia, tensions within Ethiopia quickly began to sour as their new abun built seven mosques for the use of Muslim merchants. The abun was imprisoned, and the mosques were destroyed, which led to similar retaliations towards Christians in Egypt, creating a relationship of increased tensions.[48] Additionally, on the eve of the First Crusade, between 1088 and 1091, the first known

reference to the Egyptian fear of the Ethiopian ruler's ability to control the Nile floods, giving him power over Egypt's prosperity, which would become a key attribute to the later Latin attributions of Ethiopia being the kingdom of Prester John from the fourteenth century, appeared.[49] Equally, from the Nubian perspective, later Muslim historians, such as al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442) and al-ʿAynī (d. 1451), claim that the events which led to the Nubian *ourou* Solomon's 'retirement' to Cairo in 1079 actually stemmed from his arrest following Solomon's arrival in Aswan to visit some churches.[50] The reasons for his arrest are unclear, but the very act related by these later texts would suggest that relations between Nubia and Egypt on the eve of the Crusades may not have been entirely amicable either. Nothing about these events suggests that neither Nubia nor Ethiopia would necessarily have welcomed the Crusaders, however, but it is striking that the Latins did not appear to know about potentially important tensions and divisions in the Holy Land in which to attempt to exploit upon their arrival. Instead, 'Ethiopians' were only discussed in relation to the loss and enemies of Christianity in the Holy Land and the wider region. This was also despite both levels of trade and pilgrimage to the Holy Land increasing throughout the eleventh century, which otherwise should have facilitated avenues for knowledge dissemination back in Latin Europe regarding the Holy Land's African Christian inhabitants, particularly their presence at shared Christian shrines.[51]

Negotiating 'Ethiopia' and 'Ethiopians' on Crusade

The Latin ignorance of the Nubians and Ethiopians is epitomised by the rhetoric of the early Crusade writers. No reference to either contemporary kingdom is found in these texts, and 'Ethiopia' and 'Ethiopians' only appear to serve the current absence of Christianity in the region. Beyond the arena of the First Crusade, works such as the *Virtutes apostolorum* (also known as the work of Pseudo-Abdias) were reproduced throughout the medieval period and continually reaffirmed St. Matthew's successful proselytising, which led to 'all the provinces of the *Aethiopium* [being] filled with Catholic churches until the present day'.[52] Indeed, Ethiopia's Christianity, too, was not unknown to the Latin Christians. Otto of Freising correctly noted in his *Chronica* (1157) how *ulterior India* (ʾAksum) had been converted by the missionaries Edesius and Frumentius in the fourth century.[53] Yet, according to Guibert of Nogent's recollection of Pope Urban II's famous speech, as noted earlier, Islam had now consumed 'Ethiopia' and replaced an ancient Christianity which dated back to the apostles themselves. Other writers, including those who went on the Crusade, such as Fulcher of Chartres (wr. continually from during the Crusade until c.1128), also echoed this view and claimed that 'Ethiopia' was a land adjacent to the Holy Land where Christianity was now absent.[54] No contemporary Latin Christian writer, though, made any similar claims regarding Ethiopia, which remained overlooked. Instead, it took the best part of the twelfth century to begin to witness Latin texts that not only associate both Nubia and Ethiopia with

Christianity but also for Latin Christians to even directly acknowledge either place or their peoples at all beyond that of the vague region. The rhetoric of an un-Christian 'Ethiopia' was more important for those writing about and justifying the First Crusade than any attempt to document the reality or in exploring any potential significance that either Nubia or Ethiopia could hold as later generations of Latin Christians would do.

Notably, 'Ethiopia's' role in the Latin Christian rhetoric of the early Crusades is in stark contrast to other former Christian regions, such as Spain. For example, despite its equal position alongside 'Ethiopia' and North Africa as a place no longer Christian according to First Crusade writers, the memory of a Christian Spain *ab antiquo* before the Arab invasions of 711 was a driving force for expeditions to the Iberian Peninsula during the Second Crusade (1147–9).[55] Yet, comparatively, there appears to have been much less initial Crusader appetite for Egyptian expeditions to reclaim Christian land based on a shared memory of a pre-642 Christian Egypt, or, by extension, its neighbours in 'Ethiopia'. The Christian losses of Spain and Egypt were only separated by 69 years but were remembered very differently in early crusading mentality. Moreover, there appears to have been no acknowledgement by the Latin Christians that the population of contemporary Egypt may have been, according to the estimates of Tamer el-Leithy, still mostly Christian up until the fourteenth century, which in turn could have formed an early focus for Crusader strategy, whether this would have been successful or not.[56] This apparent absence in the rhetoric of Christianity in Africa is even more striking given that the title of King Baldwin I of Jerusalem (r. 1100–18) claimed that he was also *rex Babylonie vel Asia*. Baldwin's full title suggests that there was an intent to conquer Egypt in the early years of the Crusader States, although extensive expeditions into Egypt only occurred later during the 1160s.[57] If an attempt at the conquest of Egypt was to be expected from an early date, a memory of Christian Egypt, like that of Spain, which would likely have included knowledge of its subordinate churches in Nubia and Ethiopia, would be presumed to have been more prominent in Latin Christian works. However, there appears to have been no early interest or concern in acknowledging the African Christian groups.

The rhetoric of 'Ethiopia' being subsumed by Muslims prior to the Crusades was further supported by the fact that many First Crusade writers described the presence of 'Ethiopians' in the enemy Muslim armies. In the texts, these 'Ethiopians' served to both highlight the alterity of the Muslim armies and to further paint the picture of the geographic vastness which the subjects of Islam came from. Furthermore, passages concerning enemy 'Ethiopians' primarily acted as a motif to embolden the Latin Christian reception of the courage and other deeds of the Franks in the eyes of each writer's Latin Christian audience. Whilst the link is never made explicit in the texts, this image of fighting and defeating enemy 'Ethiopians' likely had an additional importance for a Latin Christian audience too. It represented a physical embodiment of the wider cultural traditional metaphysical conflict against sin, which was often depicted or embodied as an 'Ethiopian' demon and had been a common Christian literary trope for centuries.[58] As such, many Latin Christian readers may have

understood the texts as both documenting the realities of the First Crusade and as reinforcing the specific spirituality of the First Crusaders. The witnessing of 'Ethiopians' in the Muslim armies by the Latin Christians was not just rhetoric, however, and such descriptions could have also reflected the widespread use of Africans in the Fāṭimid armies. 'Ethiopian', or specifically Nubian, soldiers formed core regiments in the Fāṭimid armies, so their appearance in Crusader texts should not be altogether surprising.[59] This is supported by the fact that the Latin Christian writers commonly describe the 'Ethiopian' soldiers in an observational matter-of-fact way and do not overtly employ their physical appearances in the texts to necessarily explicitly serve any obvious additional rhetorical purpose.

Enemy 'Ethiopians' appear in Latin Christian texts written by authors who both participated in the Crusade and who did not.[60] For instance, Fulcher of Chartres, who served as a chaplain on the First Crusade, made multiple mentions of 'Ethiopians' amongst the enemies of the Crusaders throughout his work.[61] Fulcher even recounts in one episode how an 'Ethiopian' had actually injured King Baldwin sometime in 1103 after having waited stealthily in an attempt to ambush and kill him.[62] Moreover, according to Fulcher, the threat from 'Ethiopians' was apparently so severe that those living around Jerusalem who strayed too far risked great danger of ambush in ravines and forests.[63] Fulcher's text undoubtedly combined observation with some rhetoric when relating about the enemy 'Ethiopians', thus emphasising the entwined nature of both elements in his text's production. More importantly, his descriptions influenced other writers, both in the East and in Latin Europe. For example, his description of 'Ethiopians' fighting in the Tower of David against the Crusaders was recycled by Bartolf of Nangis (d. c. 1109).[64] Little is known about Bartolf, but he made use of an early version of Fulcher's text, suggesting that the enemy 'Ethiopian' motif was present in Fulcher's text's earliest incarnations long before the final version appeared in c. 1128.[65] Likewise, Fulcher's anecdote regarding an 'Ethiopian' attacking King Baldwin is found in the work of the Armenian Matthew of Edessa, who appears to have directly lifted this bit of information directly from Fulcher, who did reside for a while in Edessa. Matthew of Edessa's use of 'Ethiopian' (*Etòvpatcĕ*: Եթովպացի), would appear to be a clear attempted transliteration of the Latin *Ethiopici*, suggesting a copying of either Fulcher's or another lost Latin text when contrasted against Matthew's specific use of the Armenian ethnonym of 'Nubian' (*Noubi*, Նուպի) elsewhere regarding Nubian soldiers in the Fāṭimid armies.[66] The Latin Christian narrative became entrenched enough that it also transferred beyond Latin Christendom and into an Armenian Christian text, whether Matthew was aware of the growing Latin significance of the *topos* or not. In addition to Fulcher, other eyewitnesses such as Guibert of Nogent also described 'Ethiopians' as enemies, along with a separate remark about 'barbarians' supposedly looking like 'Ethiopians' (*Ethiopicis*) on the slopes of Mount Sinai, highlighting the alterity of the non-Christian 'Ethiopians' and their perceived desecration of the Holy Land.[67] The narrative of the enemy 'Ethiopian' could be employed in multiple ways, both observationally and allegorically.

The circulation of texts featuring such narratives unsurprisingly influenced authors who did not travel to the East. For example, the *Historia Hierosolymitana* (wr. c. 1105) of Baldric of Dol, the abbot of Bourgeuil, was amongst the earliest texts of the First Crusade to note 'Ethiopian' soldiers despite Baldric not travelling to the East himself.[68] Baldric's text, which remained the blueprint for generations of Crusade histories, was written to add authority to the theological reasoning and motivation of the First Crusade, further underlining the important rhetorical use of the non-Christian 'Ethiopian' in the early Crusade message. Notably, in contrast, the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* (wr. c.1100–1), an integral source for many First Crusade authors, did not mention enemy 'Ethiopians' at all, possibly suggesting that this detail was a conscious insertion during post-crusade discourse to emphasise a particular message.[69] Alternatively, indeed, the very first writers may not have deemed the presence of 'Ethiopian' soldiers to have been especially important information to note until later discourses developed. Whether influenced by first-hand accounts or following a particular *topos*, further experiences of 'Ethiopians' additionally began to infiltrate into works of other Latin Christian authors who equally did not travel to the East. For instance, Ralf of Caen, a Norman priest who wrote the *Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hierosolymitana* (wr. c. 1118), also described an event regarding enemy 'Ethiopians' despite not likely travelling any further than the Principality of Antioch.[70] The inclusion of enemy 'Ethiopians' in texts written by authors who did not travel to the East may reflect their largely Norman background, in addition to fitting within a classical pre-Christian Roman tradition – a tradition which inevitably discussed these Africans as pagans.[71] In the case of the possible importance of the writers having a shared Norman influence, Norman writers were known prior to the First Crusade to utilise an 'enemy' 'Ethiopian' *topos*, such as in Dudo's *Historia Normannorum* (first circulated c.1015). Following its description of the peace between Duke Richard and King Lothair in the 960s, the text noted how the bodies of enemy 'Ethiopians' (*Aethiopum*) had turned white but, during attempts at looting the clothing of the dead who were remaining on the battlefield three days after the battle, they had remained black under their clothes.[72] Using 'Ethiopians' as a rhetorical tool was not unique to the First Crusade. Nevertheless, as many of the First Crusade accounts relied on each other, this entwined textual tradition naturally resulted in many main details being copied, thus entrenching the existence of the enemy 'Ethiopians' whether as observational fact or as a rhetorical tool.[73]

There was also a wider cultural phenomenon of 'Ethiopians' in Muslim ranks in Latin Christian *chansons*, which echoed many of the elements seen in the First Crusade texts. The *Chanson de Roland*, for instance, composed throughout the eleventh century, although the earliest manuscript dates to the second quarter of the twelfth century, tells of the 'accursed land' (*une terre maldite*) of 'Ethiopia' (*Ethïope*) being a dominion of the uncle of the Muslim king Marsilie.[74] The influence of literary traditions is also apparent in the use of the ethnonym of *Açopart*, a corruption of the French word *Etiope*, which,

via speech and the subsequent rendering of the '-*ti*-' to '-*ç*-', became a specific poetic term for these 'Ethiopians' and was employed by some of the early First Crusade historians.[75] For example, Albert of Aachen, a canon who wrote a history of the First Crusade entitled the *Historia Hierosolymitiana* (wr. c. 1125–50), referred to 'Ethiopians' in this way.[76] Albert did not travel to the Holy Land himself, highlighting that the notion of enemy 'Ethiopians' could be informed by an array of sources, both literary and non-literary.[77] The use of *Açopart* was not restricted to those who did not travel to the East either. Even earlier, Peter Tudebode, a priest who accompanied the First Crusade, likewise mentioned enemy 'Ethiopians' (*Asupatorum*) amongst the emir's force outside Ascalon which included Saracens, Arabs, Turks, Kurds, 'Ethiopians', Azymites, and other pagans in his *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere* (c.1110).[78] Why Peter, as someone who did travel to the East, used the literary ethnonym in place of the more common *Ethiopes* is unknown. Poetic sources do appear to inform Peter's *Historia* elsewhere in his text, suggesting that the use of *Asupart* was also a product of the use of literary sources, similarly to Albert, regardless of his first-hand experience.[79] In which case, the rhetoric of Latin authors, including those supposedly recording the words of the pope himself, narrating ideas of the 'Ethiopian' enemy were also building on a separate, yet sometimes entwined, body of popular literature which interwove this perception into multiple layers of society at the turn of the twelfth century. Yet, the negative image of a pagan 'Ethiopia' and enemy 'Ethiopians' which was disseminated in the more immediate works of the First Crusade was not engrained enough that it could not be removed.

Towards the Early Tides of Change

The *topos* of the enemy 'Ethiopian' may have been replicated by numerous authors but it was largely isolated to the texts associated with the First Crusade and references dramatically reduced in the following decades. Orderic Vitalis' *Historia Ecclesiastica* (wr. c. 1141), for instance, also described 'Ethiopian' soldiers fighting the Crusaders, specifically against the Count of Flanders and Tancred, but such texts are the exception, and even Orderic's text, significantly, only mentions such 'Ethiopians' in relation to the First Crusade and not subsequent events.[80] This late inclusion by Orderic can be explained by the fact that he is known to have used Baldric of Dol as his principal source for Book IX in which the enemy 'Ethiopians' appear.[81] His text, therefore, does not necessarily show that the rhetorical or physical image of the 'Ethiopian' enemy held any particular longevity amongst his contemporary writers but can be understood as an example of mere direct copying. That said, Latin Christian writers continued to document what they observed. For example, an 'Ethiopian' presence within the Muslim armies was still noted into the second half of the twelfth century, such as by William, the Archbishop of Tyre (d. 1186), who described how he witnessed armed 'Ethiopian' (*Ethiopum*) guards who 'eagerly made repeated salutations of reverence to the sultan' (*crebre salutationis officium certatim soldano*

exhibentes) whilst participating in an embassy to Cairo in 1167.[82] With the exception of William of Tyre, it is notable that later writers overwhelmingly do not take care to commonly list 'Ethiopians' amongst Muslim armies in their works. Whilst `Black' (Nigri/Mauros [italicise words in brackets]) soldiers were still encountered by the Latin Christians, such as in the armies fought by the Third Crusaders (1189–1192), they were reportedly from North Africa (Nadabares, Getuli, and Numide) and not associated with 'Ethiopia', possibly reflecting developing Latin Christian awareness.[83] One exception to this was in the work of Oliver of Paderborn (wr. 1220–2) which did, however, describe 'Ethiopian' soldiers in the Muslim armies of the Fifth Crusade (1217–21) in one passage, though his text also greatly portrayed the power of the Christian Nubian king which will be later related.[84] The decrease in references to 'Ethiopians' in Muslim armies would also have been impacted by the effect of Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn's active policy to replace Nubians with Turkish and Arab soldiers upon his initial succession as Sultan of Egypt in 1171.[85] Whilst fewer 'Ethiopian' soldiers may have been observable, it is noticeable that narratives similar to those disseminated recording the First Crusade decreased as greater understanding of Christian Nubians and Ethiopians occurred.

Amidst the overwhelmingly negative image of the rhetoric of 'Ethiopia' and 'Ethiopians' during the First Crusade, there was almost no specific mention of the toponym of 'Nubia' during the first decades of the Crusader States and no evidence of any direct Latin Christian understanding of the Ethiopian kingdom of Bəgʷəna. One direct reference to Nubians appears in the *Chronica universale* of Ekkehard of Aura, a Benedictine monk who died in 1125, in which the *Novades* (Nobades – the peoples of the northern Kingdom of Nubia prior to its annexation by Makuria in the early eighth century) from *Aethiopia* feature amongst the details of the troubles during the latter history of the Roman Empire.[86] Ekkehard's reference to enemy Nubians is, however, coincidental as he used Jordanes' sixth-century *Romana* as his source for his recollection of the *Novades* in relation to Roman imperial history rather than portraying any understanding of contemporary Nubia.[87] In fact, despite participating in the 1101 Crusade, Ekkehard did not make any note of enemy 'Ethiopians' or Nubians in the Muslim armies of the First Crusade in either his *Chronica* or separate *Hierosolymita*. His 'Ethiopia' and the *Novades* were historical entities unrelated to contemporary events in the East. Instead, any surviving textual awareness of a contemporary Nubia within Latin Europe first appeared in c. 1130. This brief appearance of *Nubia* was described in passing as a land below Egypt in Hugh of St. Victor's *Descriptio Mappe Mundi*, but without any further details, including whether it was Christian or not.[88] The *Descriptio* did, though, provide the geographical foundations for subsequent Latin Christian knowledge of a specific 'Nubia', especially regarding cartographical sources, which developed from the twelfth century.[89] The disparity between the early development of Latin Christian knowledge concerning Nubia and the surviving contemporary sources is arguably best reflected in the *chansons* of the First and Second Crusade Cycles. Although the earliest manuscripts of the first cycle date

towards the end of the twelfth century, the *chansons* are believed to have been first conceived relatively soon after the events of the First Crusade, which they describe. The first cycle includes Nubian (of *Nubie*) enemies who provide important Muslim characters. The use of *Nubie* may suggest that the toponym was known more widely in Latin Christendom despite the lack of surviving texts but nothing more can be said. Importantly, the later second cycle actively replaces these originally Muslim characters as Christian, often with scenes of conversion, and seemingly reflects the growing development of knowledge concerning Christian Nubia amongst Latin Christians.[90] The twelfth century clearly presents two different eras of intellectual productivity: an early period of chosen Latin Christian ignorance of Christian north-east Africa and a later more informed period which began to develop as a result of increasing interactions in the eastern Mediterranean.

Throughout the first half of the twelfth century, Latin Christian texts initially entrenched the view that 'Ethiopians' were enemies of the Crusaders and that 'Ethiopia' was a land absent of Christianity. The employment of the rhetoric of a non-Christian 'Ethiopia' aided the First Crusade's message as the descriptions of 'Ethiopians' in the Muslim armies served to highlight the alterity of the enemy armies, whilst also almost certainly detailing the presence of Nubians, and other Africans, in the Fāṭimid armies. This would not, however, necessarily have resulted in a lack of knowledge regarding the Christianity of at least some of the 'Ethiopians', as the Crusaders were well aware of other Christian soldiers utilised by the Fāṭimids, such as Armenians.[91] 'Ethiopia', at first, embodied the reasoning of the calling of the First Crusade by describing it as a former Christian land as reflected in both Crusader narratives and wider *chanson* culture. Yet, it is important to state that some influential texts, such as Robert the Monk's (d. 1122) *Historia Iherosolimitana*, did not feature enemy 'Ethiopians' at all despite being amongst the most widely distributed First Crusade texts, thus providing difficulties for quantifying the extent of the audience who received this narrative.[92] Nevertheless, the First Crusaders do not appear to show much knowledge, if any, of the contemporary lands below Egypt and certainly do not appear to show any great awareness of any events happening elsewhere in Africa. Within a few generations, however, the Crusader presence in the East and their engagement with various Eastern knowledge networks reintroduced Latin Christian writers to the lands of Christian Nubia and Ethiopia – the latter as 'Abyssinia' – importantly laying the foundations for subsequent Latin Christian desires to enhance their engagement with the Christian north-east African powers, beginning with Nubia.

Notes

1 *Licet stulticiam simulaverim scribens puerilia, hoc est hystorias veterum replicando, compilando, in unum congerendo, tamen presenti tempori nil utilius retractandum fore perspexerim, presertim cum aut inopia aut inercia scriptorium fere que a quadringentis annis gesta sunt oblivioni tradita esse non sit dubium*: Ricardi Pictaviensis, 'Chronica', in MGH SS, XXVI, 76. Other influential contemporary writers made

similar claims regarding the inactivity of previous writers, such as those of the eleventh-century historian Rodulphus Glaber: *Rodulphi Glabri, Historiarum libri quinque: The Five Books of the Histories*, ed. and trans. J. France (Oxford, 1989), Book I Ch. 1, pp. 2–3 (text and trans.).

2 *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Benoît-sur Loire*, eds. M. Prou, A. Vidier, and H. Stein, 2 vols. (Paris, 1907–32), pp. 1:343–7.

3 Anastasius compiled a chronicle based on Byzantine sources which told of these actions of the *rex Azumitensium*, though erroneously attributing them to the sixteenth year of Emperor Justinian I (r. 527–65): Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Hildesheim, 1980), II:142.

4 For an overview, see J. H. F. Dijkstra, 'Blemmyes, Noubades and the Eastern Desert in Late Antiquity: Reassessing the Written Sources', in *The History of the Peoples of the Eastern Desert*, eds. H. Barnard and K. Duistermaat (Los Angeles, 2012), pp. 238–47.

5 Iohannis Biclarensis, 'Chronica', in *Victoris Tunnunensis Chronicon cum reliquiis ex Consularibus Caesaraugustanis et Iohannis Biclarensis Chronicon*, ed. C. Cardelle de Hartmann (Turnhout, 2001), Ch. 28, 65.

6 Strabo, *Geography*, ed. and trans. Jones, 17.1.2, pp. VIII:4–5 (text and trans.).

7 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, eds. and trans. Rackham, Jones, and Eichholz, 5.10.53, pp. II:258–8 (text and trans.).

8 The sources regarding Kalēb's expedition are summarised in Shahīd, *The Martyrs of Najran*. The earlier contemporary Greco-Latin recounting of the conversion of ʾAksum by Frumentius was often described in texts as the conversion of 'India', but the reference directly to ʿEzana highlights the intimacy of the knowledge networks at work: Sozomenus, *Kirchengeschichte*, eds. J. Bidez and G. C. Hansen (Berlin, 1995), Book II Ch. 24, pp. 82–4 (text); Sozomen, *The Ecclesiastical History: Comprising a History of the Church from A.D. 324 to A.D. 440*, trans. E. Walford (London, 1855), pp. 85–8 (trans.); Sokrates, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. G. C. Hansen (Berlin, 1995), Book I Ch. 19, pp. 60–2 (text); Socrates Scholasticus, *The Ecclesiastical History: Comprising a History of the Church in Seven Books from the Accession of Constantine, A.D. 305, to the 38th Year of Theodosius II, Including a Period of 140 Years*, anon. trans. (London, 1853), pp. 51–2 (trans.); Theodoret, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. L. Parmentier and G. C. Hansen (Berlin, 1998), Book I Ch. 23, pp. 73–4 (text); Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History: A History of the Church in Five Books from A.D. 322 to the Death of Theordore of Mopsuestia A.D. 427*, trans. E. Walford (London, 1843), pp. 71–3 (trans.); Rufinus Aquileiensis, 'Historia Ecclesiastica', Book X Ch. 9, in PL 21.478–80 (text); Rufinus of Aquileia, *History of the Church*, trans. P. R. Amidon (Washington, DC, 2016), pp. 393–5 (trans.).

9 W. Y. Adams, with N. K. Adams, *Qasr Ibrim: The Ballaña Phase* (London, 2013), pp. 79, 82–3.

10 The corpus of Latin words in Gǝʿǝz is admittedly small: S. Weninger, 'Lateinische Fremdwörter im Äthiopischen', *Biblische Notizen*, 102 (2000), pp. 141–5. A similar decline appears to also have occurred in Syriac following the Islamic expansion suggesting that these disruptions were not localised to Africa either: A. M. Butts, 'Latin Words in Classical Syriac', *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies*, 19.1 (2016), pp. 123–92. Regrettably, no comparable work on the opposite direction of linguistic diffusion is known to have been undertaken.

11 V. Christides, 'The Image of the Sudanese in Byzantine Sources', *Byzantinoslavica*, 43 (1982), 17.

12 On the middle Byzantine historians see W. Treadgold, *The Middle Byzantine Historians* (New York, 2013), 457–89, esp. 457.

13 For example, see A. Karpozilos, 'Ἡ θέση τῶν μαύρων στὴ Βυζαντινὴ κοινωνία', in *Οι Περιθωριακοι στο Βυζάντιο*, ed. C. Maltezou (Athens, 1993), pp. 67–81.

14 B. Juel-Jensen and S. Munro-Hay, 'Further Examples of Coins of Offa Inspired by Aksumite Designs', *Spink Numismatic Circular*, 102 (1994), pp. 256–7.

15 W. Hahn, 'Aksumite Numismatics – A Critical Survey of Recent Research', *Revue numismatique*, 155 (2000), 288n27.

16 B. Żurawski, 'The Anastasis Scene from the Lower Church III at Banganarti (Upper Nubia)', *Études et travaux*, 21 (2007), pp. 162–82.

17 B. Rostkowska, 'The Visit of a Nubian King to Constantinople in AD. 1203', in *New Discoveries in Nubia: Proceedings of the Colloquium on Nubian Studies, The Hague, 1979*, ed. P. van Moorsel (Leiden, 1982), 115.

18 *Liber Sancti Jacobi: Codex Calixtinus*, ed. W. M. Whitehill, 3 vols. (Santiago de Compostela, 1944), I:148–9 (text); Ibn ʿIdhārī al-Marrākushī, *Kitāb al-bayān al-mughrib fi akhbār al-Andalus wa-al-Maghrib = Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord et de l'Espagne musulmane intitulé Kitāb al-bayān al-mughrib*, eds. G. S. Colin and É. Lévi-Provençal, 2 vols. (Beirut, 1948–51), II:296 (text); Ibn ʿIdhārī al-Marrākushī, *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne intitulée al-Bayano'l-Mogrib*, trans. E. Fagnan, 2 vols. (Algiers, 1901–4), II:494 (trans.).

19 For Byzantine disinterest in Santiago de Compostela, see D. Abrahamse, 'Byzantine Views of the West in the Early Crusade Period: The Evidence of Hagiography', in *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange Between East and West during the Period of the Crusades*, ed. V. P. Goss (Kalamazoo, MI, 1986), 193.

20 For a recent assessment of Ghāna during the early period, see M. Gomez, *African Dominion: A New History of Empire in Early and Medieval West Africa* (Princeton, 2018), pp. 30–42.

21 Scholarship on this question is ever increasing; for a representative sample of recent work, see T. R. Fenn et al., 'Contacts Between West Africa and Roman North Africa: Archaeometallurgical Results from Kissi, Northeastern Burkina Faso', in *Crossroads/Carrefour Sahel: Cultural and Technological Developments in First Millennium BC/AD West Africa*, eds. S. Magnavita, L. Koté, P. Breunig, and O. A. Idé (Frankfurt, 2009), pp. 119–46; K. C. MacDonald, 'A View from the South: Sub-Saharan Evidence for Contacts between North Africa, Mauritania and the Niger, 1000 BC–AD 700', in *Money, Trade and Trade Routes in Pre-Islamic North Africa*, eds. A. Dowler and E. R. Galvin (London, 2011), pp. 72–82; S. Magnavita, 'Initial Encounters: Seeking Traces of Ancient Trade Connections between West Africa and the Wider World', *Afriques*, 4 (2013), http://journals.openedition.org/afriques/1145; D. J. Mattingly, V. Leitch, C. N. Duckworth, A. Cuénod, M. Sterry, and F. Cole, eds., *Trade in the Ancient Sahara and Beyond: Trans-Saharan Archaeology* (Cambridge, 2017); S. Magnavita and C. Magnavita, 'All That Glitters Is Not Gold: Facing the Myths of Ancient Trade between North- and Sub-Saharan Africa', in *Landscapes, Sources, and Intellectual Projects: Politics, History, and the West African Past*, eds. T. Green and B. Rossi (Leiden, 2018), pp. 25–45.

22 *Tarikh el-Fettach*, eds. and trans. O. Houdas and M. Delafosse, 2 vols. (Paris, 1913), pp. I:41 (text), II:75–6 (trans.).

23 On the chronicle and its composition, see M. Nobili and M. S. Mathee, 'Towards a New Study of the So-Called *Tārīkh al-fattāsh*', *History in Africa*, 42 (2015), pp. 37–73.

24 *Tarikh el-Fettach*, eds. and trans. O. Houdas and M. Delafosse, pp. I:41 (text), II:75 (trans.).

25 D. W. Phillipson, 'Trans-Saharan Gold Trade and Byzantine Coinage', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 97 (2017), pp. 145–69. On Byzantine discussion of Africa in the second half of the first millennium more generally, see K. O'Bweng-Okwess, 'L'attitude contrastée des Byzantins à l'égard des étrangers: le cas des peuples subsahariens du VIe au Xe siècle', in *Greece, Rome, Byzantium and Africa*, eds. Henderson and Zacharopoulou, pp. 425–44.

26 S. K. McIntosh, 'A Reconsideration of Wangara/Palolus, Island of Gold', *The Journal of African History*, 22.2 (1981), pp. 145–58. Also see G. J. Rizzo, 'The

Patterns and Meaning of a Great Lake in West Africa', *Imago Mundi*, 58.1 (2006), pp. 80–9.

27 The impact of the Almoravid interventions in Ghāna, whether violent or peaceful, is still debated, however. See D. Conrad and H. Fisher, 'The Conquest That Never Was: Ghana and the Almoravids, 1076. I: The External Arabic Sources', *History in Africa*, 9 (1982), pp. 21–59 and D. Conrad and H. Fisher, 'The Conquest That Never Was: Ghana and the Almoravids, 1076. II: The Local Oral Sources', *History in Africa*, 10 (1983), pp. 53–78; J. Hunwick, 'Gao and the Almoravids Revisited: Ethnicity, Political Change and the Limits of Interpretation', *JAH*, 35.2 (1994), pp. 251–73; D. Lange, 'The Almoravid Expansion and the Downfall of Ghana', *Der Islam*, 73 (1996), pp. 122–59; J. A. Miller, 'Trading through Islam: The Interconnections of Sijilmasa, Ghana and the Almoravid Movement', *Journal of North African Studies*, 6.1 (2001), pp. 29–58.

28 For example, see S. Nixon, T. Rehren, and M. Filomena Guerra, 'New Light on the Early Islamic West African Gold Trade: Coin Moulds from Tadmekka, Mali', *Antiquity*, 85.330 (2011), pp. 1353–68; S. M. Guérin, 'Forgotten Routes? Italy, Ifrīqiya and the Trans-Saharan Ivory Trade', *Al-Masāq*, 25.1 (2013), pp. 70–91. Connections were further facilitated by the arrival of the Fāṭimids in the early tenth century when they came to control large portions of Afro-Mediterranean trade, importantly illustrating a continued connectivity before and after the launch of the Crusades likely continuing intermediaries: Y. Lev, 'A Mediterranean Encounter: The Fatimids and Europe, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries', in *Shipping, Trade and Crusade in the Medieval Mediterranean: Studies in Honour of John Pryor*, eds. R. Gertwagen and E. Jeffreys (Abingdon, 2016), pp. 137–40.

29 al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik*, eds. A. P. van Leeuwen and A. Ferré, 2 vols. (Carthage, 1992), II:878 (text); N. Levtzion and J. F. P. Hopkins, trans., *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources for West African History* (Princeton, 2000), 84 (trans.).

30 F.-J. Nicolas, 'Le bouracan ou bougran, tissue soudanais du moyen âge', *Anthropos*, 53.1 (1958), pp. 265–8.

31 Raymond de Marseille, *Opera Omnia, Tome I: Traité de l'astrolabe, Liber cursuum planetarum*, eds. M.-T. D'Alverny, C. Burnett, and E. Poulle (Paris, 2009), 198. The toponym reappears in Ramon Llull's c. 1283 literary novel *Blanquerna*, for example, a scene in which the eponymous title character, after becoming pope, receives a pagan (*gentil*) at the Vatican following the reading of other business who had come from a place located further south than the city of *Gana*: Ramon Llull, *Libre de Blanquerna*, eds. S. Galmés and M. Ferrà (Palma de Mallorca, 1914), pp. 326–7 (text); Ramon Llull, *Romance of Evast and Blaquerna*, intro. by A. Soler and J. Santanach, trans. R. D. Hughes (Barcelona, 2016), pp. 374–59 (trans.).

32 Guibert de Nogent, *Dei Gesta per Francos et cinq autres texts*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Turnhout, 1996), Book II Ch. 4, pp. 113–14 (text); Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds of God through the Franks: A Translation of Guibert de Nogent's Gesta Dei per Francos*, trans. R. Levine (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 43–4 (trans.).

33 Guibert de Nogent, *Dei Gesta per Francos*, ed. Huygens, Book I Ch. 4, pp. 98–9 (text); Guibert of Nogent, *Deeds of God*, trans. Levine, 35 (trans.).

34 *Das Register Gregors VII*, ed. E. Caspar, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1920–3), Book III, 19, I:285. See C. Courtois, 'Grégoire VII et l'Afrique du Nord: remarques sur les communautés chrétiennes d'Afrique du Nord au XI siècle', *Revue Historique*, 195 (1942), pp. 97–122, 193–226.

35 See J. Cuoq, *L'Eglise d'Afrique du Nord du deuxième au douzième siècle* (Paris, 1984).

36 For example, see D. Valérian, 'La permanence du christianisme au Maghreb: l'apport problématique des sources latines', in *Islamisation et arabisation de l'occident musulman médiéval (VIIᵉ-XIIᵉ siècle)*, ed. D. Valérian (Paris, 2011), pp. 131–49.

37 I. Dolezalek, 'Textile Connections? Two Ifrīqiyan Church Treasuries in Norman Sicily and the Problem of Continuity across Political Change', *Al-Masāq*, 25.1 (2013), pp. 92–112.

38 H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Pope Gregory VII's 'Crusading' Plans of 1074', in *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer*, eds. B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer, and R. C. Smail (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 27–40. Crusading beginnings can be dated even earlier, see B. Hamilton, 'Pope John X (914–928) and the Antecedents of the First Crusade', in *In Laudem Hierosolymintani: Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar*, eds. I. Shagrir, R. Ellenblum, and J. S. C. Riley-Smith (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 309–18.

39 B. Hamilton, 'Knowing the Enemy: Western Understanding of Islam at the Time of the Crusades', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Third Series*, 7.3 (1997), pp. 373–87; N. Morton, *Encountering Islam on the First Crusade* (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 42–56; MacEvitt, *Crusades and the Christian World*, pp. 45–9; Hamilton, 'Lands of Prester John'; Hamilton, 'The Crusades and North-East Africa'.

40 The liberation (*liberatio*) of Eastern Christians was celebrated by Urban's successor Pope Paschal II (r. 1099–1118) in a letter to all those victorious in 1100 immediately following the First Crusade's success, for instance, though without mentioning specific groups: *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1901), no. 22, 178. Indeed, the language of liberation was a consistent theme in Urban's letters throughout the period of the Crusade; for instance, similar language can be found in letters to the people of Flanders and Bologna in 1095 and 1096, respectively, and in a letter to the monks of Vallombrosa in 1096 prior to the Crusade's ultimate military success: *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe*, ed. Hagenmeyer, nos. 2–3, pp. 136–7; W. Wiederhold, 'Papsturkunden in Florenz', *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen philologisch-historische klasse* (1901), 313.

41 B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church* (London, 1980), pp. 1–17; A. Jotischky, 'The Christians of Jerusalem, the Holy Sepulchre and the Origins of the First Crusade', *Crusades*, 7 (2008), pp. 35–57.

42 The Patriarch of Constantinople had been seen as an 'ecumenical patriarch' since the late sixth century: V. Laurent, 'Le titre de patriarche oecuménique et la signature patriarcale', *Revue des études byzantines*, 6 (1948), pp. 5–26. As such, at least some periodic correspondence with Nubia and Ethiopia, at least via Egypt, should be expected despite the limited surviving evidence. Possible contemporary correspondences with the African churches can be found in V. Grumel, V. Laurent, and J. Darrouzès, eds., *Les régestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, 7 vols. (Paris, 1971–91), no.814 (possibly as recipients amongst the Patriarchs of the East, but no direct evidence), pp. I.III:324–5 (see also no.820, pp. 330–1); no.871, no.873, I.III:368; no. 950, pp. I.III:418–9.

43 MacEvitt, *Crusades and the Christian World*, 48.

44 HPEC II.III, pp. 327–8. For the role of the Coptic patriarch in communications with Nubia and Ethiopia during the Fāṭimid period, see J. den Heijer, 'Le patriarcat copte d'Alexandrie à l'époque fatimide', in *Alexandrie Médiévale*, ed. C. Décobert, vol. 2 (Cairo, 2002), pp. 83–97, esp. 84–7; M. Brett, 'Al-Karāza al-Marqusīya: The Coptic Church in the Fatimid Empire', in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras: Proceedings of the 9th and 10th International Colloquium organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 2000 and May 2001*, eds. U. Vermeulen and J. van Steenbergen (Leuven, 2005), pp. 33–60.

45 HPEC II.III, 346.

46 On Armeno-Latin cooperation, see, for example, J. H. Forse, 'Armenians and the First Crusade', *Journal of Medieval History*, 17.1 (1991), pp. 13–22.

47 A similar example is the apparent ignorance of the 'Turks' prior to the First Crusade in comparison to its aftermath, which is suggestive of a sudden

advancement in Latin Christian awareness and knowledge amongst the Crusade's participants and associates: Morton, *Encountering Islam*, pp. 97–110.

48 HPEC II.III, 329. See M.-L. Derat, 'L'affaire des mosquées: Interactions entre le vizirat fatimide, le patriarcat d'Alexandrie et les royaumes chrétiens d'Éthiopie et de Nubie à la fin du xie siècle', *Médiévales*, 79 (2020), pp. 15–36.

49 HPEC II.III, 351. For a study of these events, see E. van Donzel, 'Badr al-Jamālī. The Copts in Egypt and the Muslims in Ethiopia', in *Hunter of the East: Studies in Honor of Clifford Edmund Bosworth*, vol. 1, ed. I. R. Netton (Leiden, 2000), pp. 297–309. The appearance of the Egyptian fear of the Ethiopian ruler's control over the Nile also coincided with over a century of major droughts in Egypt, notably in the 1050s–70s, possibly further cementing this fear: R. Ellenblum, *The Collapse of the Eastern Mediterranean: Climate Change and the Decline of the East, 950–1072* (New York, 2012), pp. Table 2.1 on 31, 147–55. In the fourteenth century, this power was first described in the 1330s by *Liber Peregrinationis di Jacopo da Verona*, ed. U. Monneret de Villard (Rome, 1950), Ch. 2, 32.

50 B. I. Beshir, 'New Light on Nubian-Fāṭimid Relations', *Arabica*, 22.1 (1975), 19; S. Abd al-Hadi al-Hajeri, *A Critical Edition of the Eleventh Volume of ʿIqd al-jumān fī tārīkh ahl al-zamān, with Particular Reference to the Historical Fragments from the Lost Book of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Hamadhānī Called: ʿUnwān al-siyar fī maḥāsin ahl al-Badū waʾl Ḥaḍar or al-Maʿārif al-muta'khkhira* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2007), 399.

51 For example, see D. Jacoby, 'Venetian Commercial Expansion in the Eastern Mediterranean, 8th–11th Centuries', in *Byzantine Trade, 4th–13th Centuries: The Archaeology of Local, Regional and International Exchange, Papers of the Thirty-Eighth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, St. John's College, University of Oxford, March 2004*, ed. M. M. Mango (Farnham, 2009), pp. 371–91; N. Jaspert, 'Eleventh-century Pilgrimage from Catalonia to Jerusalem: New Sources on the Foundations of the First Crusade', *Crusades*, 14 (2015), pp. 1–48.

52 *Acta, Epistolae, Apocalypses: Aliaque scripta Apostolis falso inscripta sive Codicis Apocryphi Novi Testamenti*, ed. J. A. Fabricius, 2 vols. (Hamburg, 1703), II:668. On a new method of identification for the texts and a list of dated manuscripts, see E. Rose, 'Abdias Scriptor *Vitarum Sanctorum Apostolorum*? The «Collection of Pseudo-Abias» Reconsidered', *Revue d'histoire des textes*, n.s., 8 (2013), pp. 227–68.

53 Otto of Freising, 'De Duabus Civitatibus', Book IV Ch. 5, in MGH SS RGUS 45, 192 (text); Otto of Freising, *The Two Cities: A Chronicle of Universal History to the Year 1146 A.D.*, trans. C. C. Mierow et al. (New York, 2002), 284 (trans.).

54 Fulcheri Cartonensis, *Historia*, ed. Hagenmeyer, Pr.4, pp. 117–18 (text); Fulcher of Chartres, *History*, trans. Ryan with Fink, 58 (trans.).

55 See W. J. Purkis, 'The Past as a Precedent: Crusade, Reconquest and Twelfth-Century Memories of a Christian Iberia', in *The Making of Memory in the Middles Ages*, ed. L. Doležalová (Leiden, 2010), pp. 441–62; A. Forey, 'Papal Claims to Authority Over Lands Gained from the Infidel in the Iberian Peninsula and Beyond the Straits of Gibraltar', in *La Papauté et les croisades/The Papacy and the Crusades: Actes du VIIe Congrès de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East/Proceedings of the VIIth Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*, ed. M. Balard (Farnham, 2011), pp. 131–40.

56 The majority of studies tend to argue for the mass conversion of Copts to Islam during the last centuries of the first millennium. However, Tamer el-Leithy has argued that such mass conversions only truly occurred during the fourteenth century, which would suggest that there may have been a large Coptic presence in Egypt during the onset of the Crusades: T. el-Leithy, *Coptic Culture and Conversion in Medieval Cairo, 1293–1524 A.D.* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Princeton University, 2005). For earlier datings of conversions, see D. P. Little, 'Coptic Conversion to Islam Under the Baḥrī Mamlūks, 692–755/1293–1354', *BSOAS*,

39.3 (1976), pp. 552–69; N. A. Malek, 'The Copts: From an Ethnic Majority to a Religious Minority', in *Acts of the Fifth International Congress of Coptic Studies: Washington D.C., August 12–15, 1992*, ed. D. W. Johnson, vol. 2 (Rome, 1993), pp. 299–311; S. O'Sullivan, 'Coptic Conversion and the Islamization of Egypt', *Mamlūk Studies Review*, 10.2 (2006), pp. 65–79.

57 *Le Cartulaire du Chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, ed. G. Bresc-Bautier (Paris, 1984), no.19, 73. Baldwin had even promised to donate a third of Cairo in 1104 to the Genoese upon the pretence that it would be conquered with their help: RRH, no.43, 8. On evolving strategy towards Egypt, see A. V. Murray, 'The Place of Egypt in the Military Strategy of the Crusades, 1099–1221', in *The Fifth Crusade in Context: The Crusading Movement in the Early Thirteenth Century*, eds. E. J. Mylod, G. Perry, T. W. Smith, and J. Vandeburie (Abingdon, 2017), pp. 117–34.

58 Specifically on the use of the 'Ethiopian' demon in earlier Latin and Greek texts, see Karpozilos, ʽΗ θέση τῶν μαύρων στὴ Βυζαντινὴ κοινωνία', pp. 74–7; A. Nugent, 'Black Demons in the Desert', *American Benedictine Review*, 49 (1998), pp. 209–21; D. Brakke, 'Ethiopian Demons: Male Sexuality, the Black-Skinned Other, and the Monastic Self', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 10.3 (2001), pp. 501–35; Byron, *Symbolic Blackness and Ethnic Difference*; Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, pp. 79–86; D. Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006), pp. 157–81; D. G. Letsios, 'Diabolus in figura Aethiopis tetri. Ethiopians as Demons in Hagiographic Sources. Literary Stereotypes Versus Social Reality and Historic Events', in *East and West: Essays on Byzantine and Arab Worlds in the Middle Ages*, eds. J. P. Monferrer-Sala, V. Christides, and T. Papadopoullos (Piscatway, NJ, 2009), pp. 185–200.

59 For example, see J. L. Bacharach, 'African Military Slaves in the Medieval Middle East. The Cases of Iraq (869–955) and Egypt (868–1171)', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 13.4 (1981), pp. 486–95; W. J. Hamblin, *The Fāṭimid Army During the Early Crusades* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Michigan, 1985), pp. 27–33, 51–5; K. O'Bweng-Okwess, 'Le recrutement des soldats négros-africains par les Musulmans du viiie au xiiie siècle', *JOAS*, 1 (1989), pp. 24–9; A. Zouache, 'Remarks on the Blacks in the Fatimid Army, Tenth-Twelfth Century CE', *Northeast African Studies*, 19.1 (2019), pp. 23–60. Though not specifically focused on Nubia and Ethiopia, Jacque Heers has highlighted the many interactions and portability of Africans within the Islamic world: J. Heers, *Les négriers en terres d'islam: VII–XVI siècles* (Paris, 2009). Particularly, see pp. 73–140 for East Africans and pp. 207–11 for Egyptian slave armies. Also see Y. Lev, 'David Ayalon (1914–1998) and the History of Black Military Slavery in Medieval Islam', *Der Islam*, 90.1 (2013), pp. 21–43.

60 For the differences between first-hand and second-hand sources by First Crusade historians, see C. Kostick, *The Social Structure of the First Crusade* (Leiden, 2008). For eyewitnesses, see pp. 9–50 and for the historians, see 51–94.

61 Fulcheri Cartonensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. Hagenmeyer, pp. Book I Ch. 27, 300–1, Book I Ch. 30, 308–9, Book I Ch. 31, 311–12, Book II Ch. 11, 414, Book II Ch. 31, 489–90, Book II Ch. 32, 498–500, Book II Ch. 33, 503, Book III Ch. 17, 661–3 (text); Fulcher of Chartres, *History*, trans. Ryan with Fink, pp. 121, 124, 125, 158, 182–3, 186–7, 188, 241 (trans.).

62 Fulcheri Cartonensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. Hagenmeyer, Book II Ch. 24, pp. 460–1 (text); Fulcher of Chartres, *History*, trans. Ryan with Fink, 175 (trans.).

63 Fulcheri Cartonensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. Hagenmeyer, Book III Ch. 42, 763 (text); Fulcher of Chartres, *History*, trans. Ryan with Fink, 278 (trans.).

64 RHC HOcc III Ch. 35, 515.

65 On the relationship between the texts, see S. B. Edgington, 'The *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium* of "Bartolf of Nangis"', *Crusades*, 13 (2014), pp. 21–35.

66 Matthieu d'Édesse, 'Extraits de la chronique II', in RHC Doc. Arm. I, Ch. 26, 68 (text); *Armenia and the Crusades, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of*

Matthew of Edessa, trans. A. E. Dostourian (New York, 1993), Part III Ch. 12, 191 (trans.). For a comparative example for *Nouba*, see Matthieu d'Édesse, 'Extraits de la chronique II', in RHC Doc. Arm. I, Ch. 9, 45 (text); *Armenia and the Crusades*, trans. Dostourian, 1993), Part II Ch. 125, 173 (trans.).

67　Guibert of Nogent, *Dei Gesta per Francos*, ed. Huygens, Book VII Ch. 40, 340 (text); Guibert of Nogent, *Deeds of God*, trans. Levine, 160 (trans.). Other 'Ethiopian' enemies appear at: Guibert of Nogent, *Dei Gesta per Francos*, ed. Huygens, Book VII Ch. 20, 300, Book VII Ch. 44, pp. 344–5 (text); Guibert of Nogent, *Deeds of God*, trans. Levine, pp. 140 (translates 'Ethiopians' for 'Egyptians'), 162 (trans.). There appears to be no acknowledgement of the Christian Africans who may have been resident at St. Catherine's monastery at Mount Sinai. Regrettably, evidence for a contemporary Nubian presence is lacking, neither textual or material, and the earliest evidence for an Ethiopian presence comes from an unpublished c.twelfth-thirteenth-century Greek *Horologion* (ms Greek NF M90) with a Gəʿəz subscript located in the monastery's library: A. Hatzopoulos, *The New Finds of Sinai* (Athens, 1999), 172.

68　*The Historia Ierosolimitana of Baldric of Bourgueil*, ed. S. J. Biddlecombe (Woodbridge, 2014), Book IV Chs. 19–20, pp. 116–18 (text); Baldric of Bourgueil, *"History of the Jerusalemites": A Translation of the Historia Ierosolimitana*, trans. S. B. Edgington with intro. by S. J. Biddlecombe (Woodbridge, 2020), pp. 154–5 (trans.). More references to enemy 'Ethiopians' are also found in his *Gestis Baldwini*: Baldric of Dol, 'Gesta', in PL 155.854–6.

69　J. France, 'The Use of the Anonymous *Gesta Francorum* in the Early Twelfth-Century Sources for the First Crusade', in *From Clermont to Jerusalem*, ed. Murray, pp. 29–42.

70　Radulphi Cadomensis, *Tancredus*, ed. E. D'Angelo (Turnhout, 2011), Ch. 357, 101 (text); *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen: A History of the Normans on the First Crusade*, trans. B. S. Bachrach and D. S. Bachrach (Aldershot, 2005), 137 (trans.).

71　On the idea of abiding to a shared tradition, see S. Ranković, 'Communal Memory of the Distributed Author: Applicability of the Connectionist Model of Memory to the Study of Traditional Narratives', in *Making of Memory*, ed. Doležalová, pp. 9–26. There have also been questions regarding how far First Crusade eyewitnesses wrote original narratives, see Y. N. Harari, 'Eyewitnessing in Accounts of the First Crusade: The *Gesta Francorum* and Other Contemporary Narratives', *Crusades*, 3 (2004), pp. 77–100.

72　Dudo, *Historia Normannorum*, in J. Lair, ed., 'De moribus et actis primorum Normanniæ ducum', *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, 23 (Caen, 1865), Book II Ch. 124, pp. 287–8 (text); Dudo of St. Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. E. Christiansen (Woodbridge, 1998), 162 (trans.).

73　For example, see J. Rubenstein, 'Guibert of Nogent, Albert of Aachen and Fulcher of Chartres: Three Crusade Chronicles Intersect', in *Writing the Early Crusades: Text Transmission and Memory*, eds. M. Bull and D. Kempf (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 24–37.

74　*La Chanson de Roland/The Song of Roland: The French Corpus*, eds. J. J. Duggan et al., 3 vols. (Turnhout, 2005), laisse CLXIII, I:187 (text); *The Song of Roland and Other Poems of Charlemagne*, trans. S. Gaunt and K. Pratt (Oxford, 2016), 65 (trans.).

75　On the contrasting debates on the ethnonym of *Azopart*, see P. Meyer, 'Butentrot-Les Achoparts-Les Canelius', *Romania*, 7 (1878), pp. 435–40; E. C. Armstrong, 'Old-French "Açopart", "Ethiopian"', *Modern Philology*, 38.3 (1941), pp. 243–50, esp. 244; Vantini, 'Sur l'eventualite', 342.

76　Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. S. B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007), pp. Book VI Ch. 41, 456–7, Book VI Ch. 46, 464–5, Book VI Ch. 50, 468–9, Book VII Chs. 10–11, 498–501, Book

VII Ch. 39, 542–5, Book VII Ch. 56, 566–7, Book IX Ch. 3, 640–1, Book IX Ch. 6, 644–5, Book XII Ch. 18, 850–3 (text and trans.).

77 S. B. Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen and the Chansons de Geste', in *The Crusades and Their Sources: Essays in Honour of Bernard Hamilton*, eds. J. and W. Zajac (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 23–37. More generally, see C. Sweetenham, 'Reflecting and Refracting Reality: The Use of Poetic Sources in Latin Accounts of the First Crusade', in *Literature of the Crusades*, eds. S. T. Parsons and L. M. Paterson (Woodbridge, 2018), pp. 25–40.

78 Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, ed. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill (Philadelphia, 1977), Ch. 12, 147 (text); Peter Tudebode, *Historia de hierosolymitano itinere*, trans. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill (Philadelphia, 1974), 126 (trans.).

79 Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, eds. Hill and Hill, 14.

80 *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969–80), Book IX Ch. 17, pp. V:180–3 (text and trans.).

81 *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. Chibnall, I:60.

82 Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi, *Chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 1986), Book XIX, Ch. 18, II:897 (text); William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, 2 vols. (New York, 1943), II:319 (trans.).

83 'Itinerarium peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi', in *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I, ed. W. Stubbs*, vol. I (London, 1864), Bk 1 Ch 35, Bk 4 Ch 18, pp. 83, 262 (text); H. E. Mayer, Das Itinerarium peregrinorum: Eine zeitgenössische englische Chronik zum dritten Kreuzzug in *ursprünglicher* Gestalt (Stuttgart, 1962), pp. 327–8 (text); H. Nicholson, *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade: The Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 90, 247 (trans.).

84 Oliver of Paderborn, 'Historia Damiatini', in *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters, späteren Bischofs von Paderborn und Kardinal Bischofs von S. Sabina Oliverus*, ed. H. Hoogeweg (Tübingen, 1894), Chs. 35, 75, pp. 231–2, 272–3 (text); Oliver of Paderborn, 'The Capture of Damietta', trans. J. J. Gavigan, in *Christian Society and the Crusades, 1198–1229*, ed. E. Peters (Philadelphia, 1971), pp. 89–90, 128–9 (trans.).

85 Y. Lev, *Saladin in Egypt* (Leiden, 1999), pp. 141–57.

86 Ekkehard of Aura, 'Chronicon', De origine Hunorum, in PL 154.773.

87 Jordanes, *Romana*, Ch. 333, in MGH Aa, V.i, 43 (text); *Jordanes: Romana and Getica*, trans. P. Van Nuffelen and L. Van Hoof (Liverpool, 2020), 198 (trans.).

88 *Descriptio Mappe Mundi*, ed. Gautier-Dalché, Ch. XVI, pp. 147–8.

89 Hugh of St. Victor's ideas have been long noted more generally for their influence on contemporaries and subsequent writers alike, see D. Terkla, 'Hugh of St Victor (1096–1141) and Anglo-French Cartography', *Imago Mundi*, 65.2 (2013), pp. 161–79. For Nubia in cartographical sources, see R. Seignobos, 'Nubia and Nubians in Medieval Latin Culture: The Evidence of Maps (12th–14th Century)', in *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond: Proceedings of the Twelfth International Conference for Nubian Studies*, eds. J. R. Anderson and D. A. Welsby (Leuven, 2014), pp. 989–1004.

90 See Simmons, 'The Changing Depiction of the Nubian King'.

91 Hamblin, *Fāṭimid Army*, pp. 19–27; Lev, *Saladin*, pp. 185–6.

92 On the text's popularity, see *The Historia Iherosolimitana of Robert the Monk*, eds. D. Kempf and M. G. Bull (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. ix–xii. For his sources as a possible explanation for this absence, see M. G. Bull, 'Robert the Monk and His Source(s)', in *Writing the Early Crusades*, eds. Bull and Kempf, pp. 127–39.

3 Sources of Knowledge between Nubia, Ethiopia, and the Latin Christians in the Holy Land and Egypt

Knowledge is a product. As with any material commodity, knowledge can be donated, exchanged, traded (with a particular *quid pro quo* motive), faked, looted, hoarded, and destroyed, all of which offer particular roles for knowledge within a variety of interactions. Historically speaking, one question often arises, particularly regarding long-distance contact: do increased interactions enhance knowledge between groups or does enhanced knowledge lead to increased interactions? In the case of the relationship between Nubian, Ethiopian, and Latin Christian knowledge and interaction it would appear to have been a case of the former. The development of knowledge, which is best attested only in the Latin Christian sources, was the result of both the dissemination and diffusion of knowledge. Importantly for our purposes, the true extent of the corpus of knowledge at any point in history is impossible to assess, not least because the production of knowledge is always framed by each individual author who chooses what to include and what not to. In other words, a surviving corpus of knowledge may only be a microcosm of what was known by an author's contemporaries and the extent of otherwise undocumented knowledge, particularly in regions which witnessed a greater number and diversity of interactions, may be comparatively vast. Interactions were numerous, yet source survival largely only depicts such exchanges from a Latin Christian point of view. However, interactions should be viewed as having a similar impact on Nubian and Ethiopian knowledge development of Latin Christians as their influences had on Latin Christian knowledge of the Christian Africans despite the almost complete absence of Nubian and Ethiopian contemporary material on the matter. It is the aim of this chapter to assess the role of individuals and arenas of knowledge more broadly which had the ability to act as the hubs of information which informed knowledge development between these groups. Specifically, information which underpinned the foundation for the growing role of Nubia, and to an initial lesser degree Ethiopia, which can be most clearly witnessed in Latin Christian discourse following the First Crusade.

The avenues of knowledge dissemination in the wider eastern Mediterranean were centred on primary, secondary, or tertiary exchanges depending on the degrees of separation from the original knowledge source. A primary knowledge network is defined as one where the recipient received information

first-hand, with a secondary network being once or twice removed from the direct source, and a tertiary network being one of news and rumour without any verifiable origin. Rumour, especially, as shown by Torsten Wollina in relation to Mamlūk knowledge, could be a powerful information tool which could supplement, both to stabilise or destabilise, other forms of news or established knowledge.[1] It is not always easy to distinguish between each method of knowledge accumulation, however. To illustrate one example which may be categorised in any of the three networks, I shall point to the early fourteenth-century itinerary of the Irish Franciscan Symon Semeonis. Scholarship has not attributed the use of a Coptic-speaking guide along at least part of his journey, particularly within Egypt. Yet, the use of the toponym of *Danubia*, which Symon uses for Nubia, suggests the use of an otherwise previously unattributed guide when we consider that *Danubia* is remarkably similar to *Nanouba* (ⲚⲀⲚⲞⲨⲂⲀ), one of the Coptic toponyms for Nubia, which could readily be misunderstood by a Latin-speaker as something akin to *Danubia*.[2] Only one manuscript survives, which is dated to between c.1335–52, so it may simply be a scribal error, but, as this occurs multiple times, such consistent, seemingly intentional, spelling in the text allows us to posit or reconstruct a plausible network involving a Coptic-speaking guide or informant who informed on this toponym. However, nothing else is said in the text so what exactly a guide who knew at least something of Nubia – whether from primary, secondary, or tertiary experience – told Symon in addition to the toponym is impossible to fully reconstruct. In contrast, the importance of authorial detachment from such networks should be stated, as well as occasions of a reliance on an outdated textual corpus. For instance, Latin Christian knowledge of Nubia and Ethiopia, or indeed Africa more generally, cannot be simplified to quantifying the information found in the surviving contemporary chronicles as these were often removed from experiential connectivity. For example, in 1267, Roger Bacon continued to discuss dragons flying to *Ethiopia* from Latin Europe and told how dragon meat was used as a remedy for old age in his influential *Opus Majus* amongst multiple pages of supposed information on 'Ethiopia'.[3] When viewed alongside other contemporary networks of information presented within this book, it is clear that Roger's text did not represent the forefront of knowledge regarding 'Ethiopia' despite its otherwise influential status and his use of contemporary and even archival sources elsewhere in his text. Even alongside an integrated web of potential sources for knowledge, myths remained, whether they were disseminated purposefully via the recycling of classical works or through ignorance. Above all, information was disseminated via various channels, but its oral transmission, which often remained uncodified, is particularly relevant for our purposes here.

For instance, the reconstruction of what can be called 'communal knowledge', similarly, emphasises the importance of undocumented knowledge agents within non-textual communities who informed their knowledge corpus.[4] This communal knowledge was produced via experience, interaction, and observation of groups but which was otherwise only noted by external

sources from outside of that community. Only a handful of Latin Christian visitors to the Holy Land, for example, described the tattooing practice of the so-called 'branding of the cross' on Nubians and Ethiopians, though it would be safe to assume that all those present would have been aware of this cultural practice, including resident writers who fail to mention this fact. Significantly, this avenue of knowledge dissemination may actually have nurtured many of the most important knowledge developments via what Mark Granovetter called the 'strength' of 'weak' ties. Simply, the more removed that isolated potential knowledge disseminators are from each other's regular networks, the greater the diversity of knowledge could be disseminated between themselves at one single moment of exchange and subsequent interactions with each individual's regular contacts.[5] The survival and reproduction of non-textual observational knowledge played an equally active role in the information networks regarding Africa as the primary, secondary, and tertiary networks of news and rumour. Certainly, Latin Christians greatly developed their knowledge of the wider region, including of Nubians and Ethiopians, during their occupation of the Crusader States largely as a result of such sustained interaction.[6] Though we have little comparative evidence, there is no reason to suppose that this was not also true of Nubian and Ethiopian knowledge of the Latin Christians. It is, therefore, the intention of this chapter to offer reconstructions of the sources of knowledge between Nubians, Ethiopians, and Latin Christians, both directly and via other intermediaries.

Recreating a Framework for Undocumented Avenues of Knowledge Regarding Nubia and Ethiopia

Latin Christians were recipients of first-hand, secondary, and tertiary information from a host of sources. The discussion here, particularly regarding routes of non-African knowledge exchange, cannot fully be given justice. Nevertheless, the initial focus of this chapter will highlight examples of such non-Nubian or Ethiopian individuals or groups who wrote or had experience of Nubia(ns) or Ethiopia(ns) and who could have disseminated information before assessing the scope of the Nubian and Ethiopian presence in the wider Mediterranean. For instance, travellers built personalised knowledge corpuses unique to them, much of which remained undocumented and their potential significance unknown. One example can be found in the travels of a man called Masʿūd from Aleppo who accompanied the Egyptian envoy to Dongola on behalf of Tūrānshāh in 1172–3 and whose participation in the delegation was noted by both Abū Šāma (fl. 1240s) and Bar ʿEbrōyō (fl. before 1286).[7] It would be reasonable to expect that someone like Masʿūd would have travelled through the Crusader States back to Aleppo following his trip to Dongola, illustrating just one avenue for acting as a disseminator of news regarding the brief Egyptian expedition to Nubia to audiences within or neighbouring the Crusader States. Muslim oral traditions relating knowledge of the Egyptian expedition into Nubia in 1172 can be evidenced to have

influenced Latin Christian prose texts, such as in the anonymous thirteenth-century *Estoires d'Outremer* which was likely compiled in north-east France and contributed further to the legend of Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn, as highlighted by Uri Shachar, suggesting that the legacies of disseminated news could also have far-reaching and indirect influence.[8] The dissemination of information by Syrian individuals, specifically, was explicitly the case in the early sixteenth century when a Syrian man was said to have informed Francisco Álvarez whilst in Ethiopia on the condition of the churches of Nubia from his own first-hand experience.[9]

In order to create a framework for avenues of knowledge diffusion, as well as being carriers of contemporary news, it is also important to highlight what codified knowledge has survived for this period, which could be said to have provided foundational elements of knowledge for certain Eastern communities who interacted with the Latin Christians. Indeed, Jacques of Vitry, the Latin bishop of Acre (wr. completed c. 1224), actively sought to enquire with Greek and Syrian monks about their affairs in the early thirteenth century, including specifically regarding the Jacobites – who he also lists Nubians amongst elsewhere in his text – on one particular occasion, further highlighting how curiosity could be a powerful tool to facilitate knowledge acquisition between groups.[10] Often, the surviving works of contemporary Eastern authors detail Nubia(ns) and Ethiopia(ns) much more than those of the Latin Christians do. Not only did Eastern writers document elements of the histories of Nubia and Ethiopia, but they were also acutely aware of the differences between the Christian groups and the relationship between the African Churches with the Coptic patriarch. For instance, Eutychius of Alexandria (d. 940), the Melkite patriarch of Alexandria, was one near-contemporary author who, despite his incorrect reasoning, did correctly identify the Nubians as Jacobites (*Yaʿqūbiyya*: يعقوبيه).[11] Nubia and Ethiopia's political and religious relationship with the Coptic patriarch was further commented on by an anonymous text wrongly attributed to the Coptic monk Abū Šākir ibn al-Rāhib (fl. c. 1257–70), despite not giving any great reflection on their varying customs and beliefs, whilst similar remarks of this relationship by others, such as the Greek monk Neilos Doxapatrios, who wrote whilst residing at the Norman court in Sicily, were made earlier in the mid-twelfth century.[12] The absence of any information regarding Nubian and Ethiopian customs and beliefs in the example of the text wrongly attributed to Ibn al-Rāhib does not necessarily reflect a general absence of knowledge of such matters, however. Instead, theological differences were more important to note than cultural or ethnic differences. For example, Paul of Antioch (fl. c. 1180–1200), the Melkite bishop of Sidon, noted the differences between Melkites, Nestorians, Jacobites, and Maronites but made no distinction between the peoples encompassed by these groups.[13] Paul's uninterest in distinguishing peoples, rather than theologies, was specifically highlighted by his text's modern editor, Paul Khoury. Khoury posited that this focus in Paul's writing helps to explain his silence on Latins and Armenians, both of whom were instead seemingly treated as Melkites and Monophysites, respectively,

despite the fact that, as the co-adjutor bishop of Sidon, Paul would have been acutely aware of the differences of the Latin rite to that of other groups and would have had the knowledge to outline them clearly if he had wished.[14]

How widespread knowledge – whether geographical, historical, cultural, or theological – was known within wider societies of Eastern groups, particularly beyond monastic communities, to create a universal blanket of knowledge amongst those capable of disseminating relevant information to Latin Christians, or Nubians, or Ethiopians for that matter, is impossible to ascertain. Jewish knowledge is particularly illustrative of this, especially in relation to the Genizah texts which note the affairs of Jewish trading diasporas in the wider Red Sea region and beyond, including conducting trade in the Crusader States, Nubia, and Ethiopia. Yet, this knowledge corpus, which is the most relevant contemporary Jewish corpus for our study, should be best described as experiential knowledge, rather than being representative of knowledge that Jews outside of these networks may have necessarily been able to similarly disseminate.[15] Elsewhere, problematically, even those who were seemingly well informed could confuse matters. For example, the Coptic priest Abū al-Makārim occasionally confused some details between Nubia and Ethiopia, such as ideas regarding their respective kings as he incorrectly claimed that the king (*malik*) of Makuria (*Maqurrah*: مقرّة) was an Ethiopian (*Ḥabašī*: حبشى) in his tract primarily concerned with Ethiopia.[16] Another issue concerns the survival of texts and the function of recording information itself. This is particularly notable in the discrepancy between the interactions of groups and the surviving sources. For instance, Armenians were active in the Red Sea and the north-east African interior, but references to contemporary Nubians or Ethiopians are largely absent in the surviving Armenian corpus, with many notices, instead, being the products of translation rather than observation or being otherwise informed by up-to-date knowledge.[17] This is even more stark when we consider the role of the Armenian prince and ambassador Heťùm of Corycus' crusade treatise, written in French in 1307, which suggested that the Armenians could act as intermediaries between the Latin Christians and the Nubians.[18] Possible inflated rhetoric aside, Heťùm's treatise was clearly not restricted by the knowledge that surviving Armenian texts would otherwise lead us to believe regarding the extent of Armenian knowledge of, in this case, Nubia.

Furthermore, there is also suggestive evidence of the existence of Nubian-Syrian Jacobite Christian communication via Syriac. For instance, a Syriac alphabet found at Qasr Ibrim in Lower Nubia in an archaeological context which allows for the possible date of the ostrakon after at least the ninth century on the basis of the presence of paper which was only introduced to Egypt after that century, in addition to a tenth-century reference by Ibn al-Nadīm that some Nubians knew Syriac, suggests an ability to directly communicate with the Jacobite patriarch in Antioch or other Syrian communities, especially when no Syriac texts have been found in Nubia to suggest an alternate explanation for the Nubian knowledge of Syriac, such as being used for translation projects.[19] This equally may have been the case for

Ethiopian-Syrian communication too, though evidence for this is even more fragmentary and indirect. For example, the Ethiopian *nəguś* ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon (r. 1314–44) had a Syrian secretary from Damascus, who Taddesse Tamrat posited facilitated ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon's desires to keep well informed about events in Syria, whilst a wooden altar tablet inscribed in Syriac, which was consecrated by Athanasius, bishop of Ethiopia (ܟܘܫ *Kūš*), in 1295/6, has been noted in a church in modern Eritrea.[20] Syriac texts were certainly translated into Gəʿəz in late antiquity, though the later Solomonic translations have been stressed by Aaron Butts to have been facilitated by Arabic intermediaries.[21] Moreover, whilst the arrival of the Ethiopian Thomas who desired to be consecrated as metropolitan of Ethiopia by the Syrian patriarch Ignatius III David some time between 1237–9 or 1241–2 may have been facilitated by communication in Arabic, the later example of the Syrian priest Mūše of Mardin producing Syriac texts for the benefit of the Ethiopian monk Täsfa Ṣəyon in Rome in 1549 may be indicative of the existence of networks between Ethiopian and Syriac-speaking communities.[22]

Many Muslims, Jews, and Eastern Christians held positions of importance and influence in the Crusader States amidst a relatively integrated society, at least in the major urban centres, who were in a position to provide diverse knowledge. Syrian Jacobite Christians were particularly notable for gaining positions in the Crusader court, though some did encounter difficulties maintaining claims.[23] Notably, the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch Michael Rabo, also known as Michael the Syrian, was known for his strong relationship with the Latin Christians.[24] This is perhaps significant given that Michael Rabo was well versed in Nubian and Ethiopian history, detailing their stories of conversion and even recounted future *ourou* Georgios I of Makuria's visit to Baghdad in 836 during the reign of his father in his chronicle, for example.[25] Indeed, authors writing in Syriac were often well informed in matters of geography more generally.[26] For instance, Ptolemy's second-century *Geography* influenced the sixth-century Syriac chronicle of Zachariah, which was, in turn, utilised in part by Patriarch Michael and other contemporaries, such as Bar ʿEbrōyō.[27] Specifically regarding Nubia, Bernard Hamilton has noted how it was perhaps uncoincidental that Latin Christian knowledge of Nubians further developed after Michael's visit to Jerusalem in 1168 upon King Amalric's (r. 1163–74) request.[28] Certainly, Michael was very well connected and remained well informed about a variety of contemporary matters from a range of noted and now lost sources.[29] More generally, King Amalric was known as the first King of Jerusalem who actively sought works of knowledge using local sources.[30] It is, therefore, probably no coincidence that his reign coincides with the flourishing advancement of knowledge regarding Nubia in the Latin Christian corpus. Amalric was certainly briefed about Nubia's subordinate relationship to the Coptic patriarch no later than 1173, despite no evidence of a direct link between Amalric and Coptic informants, possibly illustrating Michael's intellectual influence.[31] Indeed, the importance of Eastern knowledge exchange has specifically been highlighted in a recent study by Jonathan Rubin regarding Latin Christian intellectual development

of different groups in Acre during the thirteenth century, though, regrettably, Nubians and Ethiopians are not subject to his specific inquiry.[32]

In addition to texts of Eastern Christians, Arabic texts produced by Muslims undoubtedly informed Latin Christian writers, as highlighted by Robin Seignobos in his discussion of Nubia's relation with the Crusades.[33] The Arabic corpus is illustrative of the problems of tracing knowledge exchange beyond what can be directly evidenced. For instance, Raymond of Marseille noted the location of *Gana* (Ghāna) at 15° 30'/10° 55' (relative to Marseille), along with *Sigilmessah* (Sijilmasa) at 15° 0'/22° 0' as early as 1141, yet almost nothing else about contemporary West Africa is noted by any twelfth-century Latin Christian writer.[34] Raymond became acquainted with these locations only through his translations of Arabic works, which poses the question of the scale of the influence such increasing translation projects in Latin Europe could have provided in addition to the news and rumours circulating in the wider Holy Land. Many locations throughout Africa were likely known to Latin Christian translators and compilers of astrological tables many decades, if not centuries, earlier despite their otherwise absence in Latin Christian discourse. Adelard of Bath (c. 1080–c. 1152) is the first known Latin European to produce a translation of Arabic astrological tables – the *Zīj* of al-Khwārizmī (wr. 813–33) – in the early twelfth century, yet Adelard's text has no mention of Dongola, Alwa, *Jarma* (likely an Arabic understanding of ʾAksum via the Gəʿəz toponym of *Gərma* (Ⴖ𐌂Ⴋ)), Sijilmasa, or Ghāna, despite all featuring in al-Khwārizmī's *Kitāb sūrat al-arḍ* alongside much other African material.[35] It may have been the case that the copy of al-Khwārizmī's *Zīj* that Adelard used for his translation may not have featured much, if any, information which was primarily contained in al-Khwārizmī's *Kitāb*, yet Raymond's notice of Ghāna and Sijilmasa is suggestive that such Arabic knowledge of Africa, particularly regarding certain toponyms, was potentially in circulation within Latin Europe during the twelfth century despite limited codification in formalised Latin Christian translations. This is particularly important to reflect on considering that the earliest known contemporary Latin Christian reference to the capital of Dotawo, Dongola (*Ducala*), only appeared in 1282 in the *Composition of the World* of the Tuscan monk Ristoro d'Arezzo. There is no evidence that Ristoro interacted with any Nubian informants, and this is further suggested by his use of *Ducala*, which would appear to have been learnt through the Arabic toponym *Dunqulā* (دنقلا), rather than the Old Nubian form of *Toungoul* (ⲦⲞⲨⲅⲅⲞⲨⲗ) on which the Arabic toponym was based.[36] Translations of Arabic works clearly provided Latin Christians with details about Nubia, Ethiopia, and even elsewhere in Africa, but this was not necessarily reflected in Latin Christian original works immediately. It remains unclear whether this was due to a lack of access to knowledge gained from such translations or whether the authors whose texts survive chose to remain ignorant, either actively or inadvertently, of such new information.

The tracing of knowledge which appears to have been gathered from the copying of Arabic geographical tables is further problematised due to the fact

that most Latin Christian translations of Arabic geographical tables commonly closely conformed to the Toledan Tables, which were produced in the late twelfth century, regardless of the texts that they were translating.[37] Significantly, the Toledan Tables do not feature any Nubian or Ethiopian locations. However, as we can see from the tables produced by Raymond of Marseille and the case of *Gana* and *Sigilmessah*, knowledge of at least certain African locations did exist within this scholarly field even though we cannot quantify how many such locations were equally ignored by writers in their translations. As noted by José Chabás and Bernard Goldstein, medieval Latin Christian translators often ignored places unknown to them in their translations of Arabic works, which would account for the lack of surviving evidence for the extent of distant geographical knowledge in Latin Europe.[38] Additionally, authors merely had different priorities for what to include in their texts regardless of what they may or may not have known. One such illustrative example of this can be found in the mid-fifteenth-century anonymous Castilian translation of the twelfth-century *Kitāb al-jarʿāfiya* of al-Zuhrī, which, for unknown reasons, did not copy the sections on Africa at all, yet presumably had access to the sizeable African section in the text.[39] Similarly, Muslim writers were equally guilty of not necessarily codifying the full extent of their knowledge of communities. For instance, some glass beads dating to the second half of the first millennium which have been found in modern Botswana have been shown to have originated from the Persian Gulf region, thus leading to the beads' analysers James Denbow, Carla Klehm, and Laure Dussubieux to tentatively posit that a Muslim identification for the traders cannot be ruled out.[40] Surviving Arabic sources note the Muslim interaction with the east coast of Africa from the tenth century, yet their locations, descriptions, and anecdotes remained largely coastal despite noting the exchange of goods from the African interior.[41] If Muslims had indeed been trading far inland of Africa's east coast, the conspicuous lack of knowledge of the interior of southern African peoples in Muslim texts may further highlight the disparity between experiential and textual knowledge in comparative cultures. It is reasonable to assume that Latin Christian geographical knowledge was equally greater than what was codified as far as the surviving corpus indicates.

Arguably, the most indicative example of this dichotomy between available knowledge and the survival of recopied or codified original knowledge appeared in Norman Sicily during the reign of King Roger II (r. 1130–54). Non-Latin writers who were active in Roger's court presented the king with diverse information regarding Africa, ranging from the ecclesiastical relationship between Nubia and Egypt to the geographies of known West and Central African peoples, urban centres, and kingdoms, such as Ghāna and Kānem, along with more obscure places.[42] However, it has been argued, for example by David Abulafia, that the famous *Book of Roger* of al-Idrīsī (d. 1166), which was presented to King Roger in the year of the king's death, was otherwise very limited in its contemporary circulation.[43] Yet, it is notable that Marino Sanudo's crusade treatise (submitted to Pope John XXII in

1321) seemingly shows evidence of direct copying from an Arabic work, which may have been al-Idrīsī's. For instance, the placement of *Zinc* (Arabic *Zanj*, the East African coast more broadly) and *Zinziber* (Zanzibar) on the East African coast could have been learnt through any knowledge networks or by lifting from an Arabic text, but *Bedoni* (*Baḍūna*, on the East African coast) and *Neze* (*Najā*, located at the southern end of the Nile) would appear to be directly influenced by Arabic geographies. Notably, the latter two toponyms appear in al-Idrīsī's work.[44] Equally, *Gaulolia*, a location depicted in West Africa by Sanudo's cartographer, Pietro Vesconte, would appear to have been copied from *aūlil*, or, as argued by Tadeusz Lewicki, *Judāla*, the former of which also appears in al-Idrīsī's work in a similar location within West Africa.[45] Therefore, earlier Latin Christian works reflecting knowledge of al-Idrīsī's text may simply have been lost, rather than never existing. Latin Christian knowledge of Africa would appear to have been much more diverse than its primary fixation on Nubia and, to an initial lesser extent, Ethiopia. This early focus on north-east Africa cannot necessarily be said to have been the product of an absence of sources for knowledge of elsewhere in Africa, but, rather, reflects the dominant interest that interactions with Nubians and Ethiopians within the wider Holy Land inspired and provoked.

The Question of Christian Africans in the Holy Land

A discussion of the routes of knowledge transmission between Latin Christians, Nubians, and Ethiopians cannot ignore the role of Nubians and Ethiopians themselves. Yet, the question of the presence of Ethiopians in the Holy Land during the crusading period, which, as noted in the Introduction, has long been subject to study, with more recent work increasingly separating Nubians as a distinct population of their own, remains in scholarship. Most of such discussion is based almost exclusively on Latin Christian sources. Problematically, as highlighted by Camille Rouxpetel, amongst others, discussions of these groups have thus been hindered by the interchanging of the ethnonyms of 'Ethiopian', Ethiopian, Nubian, and 'Indian' even when texts were informed by experience.[46] However, by using sources beyond the Latin Christian corpus and the approach to distinguish between Nubians and Ethiopians presented in this book, a more expansive picture appears. Whilst not every reference is clear, especially without additional context, there were distinct populations of permanent, semi-permanent, and non-permanent Nubians and Ethiopians throughout the Holy Land and Egypt. The scope of these populations should not be erased within any discussion of a framework of knowledge dissemination regarding Nubia and Ethiopia to the Latin Christians and what may be supposed for the reverse given the absence of comparative sources. Here we shall revue the current evidence for the locations and sizes of Nubian and Ethiopian populations within the Holy Land and Egypt, especially in places where they were known to reside alongside Latin Christians. Direct interactions between Latin Christians, Nubians, and Ethiopians had the potential to shape knowledge rather differently to how

other intermediaries may have disseminated it. Whilst little evidence survives to illuminate any specific examples of direct transmission of knowledge between these groups, establishing areas of interaction, both brief and prolonged, provides another layer to the framework of avenues of knowledge dissemination in the Holy Land and Egypt which would otherwise be overlooked. Most importantly, interactions can be presumed to have been much more common than is often assumed.

The significance of taking a more rounded approach to analysing the Nubian and Ethiopian presence, including their interactions with Latin Christians, using sources beyond those of the Latin Christians is particularly evident if we take 1170s Cairo as an example. For instance, Burchard of Strasbourg, who travelled to Egypt in c. 1175, wrote only of Nubia that it was a Christian kingdom 20 days south of Egypt. However, his contemporary Abū al-Makārim, who has been argued by Johannes den Heijer to have been writing between 1160 and 1187, noted that envoys of the Greeks (*Rūm*:روم), Franks (*Faranj*:فرنج), Ethiopians (*Ḥabaša*:حبشة), and Nubians (*Nūba*:نوبه) customarily worshipped alongside each other at the fountain at al-Maṭariyya when received at the court in Cairo, a noticeably revealing detail that Burchard neglected but possibly, if not likely, witnessed.[47] Burchard's omission should be understood as an authorial choice, rather than reflecting any ignorance, as he describes travelling to the shrine himself but only notes that the shrine was venerated by the Muslims – though a subsequent statement in the passage reveals that there were various other places in Cairo which were venerated by both unspecified Christians (*Christianis*) and Muslims (*Sarracenis*) alike. Similarly, despite no Latin Christian source noting either Nubians or Ethiopians in the Holy Land until the 1170s, the Jacobite patriarch Michael Rabo (r. 1166–99) insinuates in his text that Nubians (*Kūšaye*: ܟܘܫܝܐ) and Ethiopians (*Ḥindaye*: ܗܢܕܝܐ) were present in Syria, Palestine, Armenia, and Egypt in the late 1120s. After stating that the Greeks provoked the Syrians, Copts, and Armenians, Michael specifies that this provocation occurred in Syria, Palestine, Armenia, and Egypt, ending his statement by saying that the Greeks also provoked the Nubians and Ethiopians on occasion when possible. The text is unclear as to whether the Nubians and Ethiopians were present in all of these lands or if they were localised in only one, or even multiple, region(s), such as just in Egypt.[48] If they were to be also associated with Syria and/or Palestine, this reference to the post-First Crusade presence of Nubians and Ethiopians in the Holy Land in the 1120s would predate any Latin Christian notice by almost five decades. The picture of an African presence in the Holy Land, whether Christian or Muslim – or, indeed, any other socio-religious group – is much more complex than is often portrayed, especially when only Latin Christian sources are overwhelmingly relied on.

Both Ethiopia and Nubia had a long history of connections with Jerusalem, whom they referred to as 'heavenly Jerusalem' (*ʾIyärusalem sämayawit*/ ኢየሩሳሌም፡ሰማያዊት and *Jerousalēm ntpe*/ⲓⲉⲣⲟⲩⲥⲁⲗⲏⲙ ⲛⲧⲡⲉ, respectively), which, despite the fragmentary evidence for their respective sustained presence in the city during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, provides the first

focus of the following discussion. Although no contemporary Nubian mate-
rial or textual evidence survives in Jerusalem during the period of Latin
occupation, Nubians (*Nubiani*) were first noted in Jerusalem by the German
pilgrim Theodoric in 1172.[49] Ethiopians, on the other hand, were only first
explicitly mentioned in the city as *Abastini* in a Latin document of unknown
late-thirteenth-century date whose given ethnonym leaves little doubt.[50]
Enrico Cerulli included a reference to 'Ethiopians' (*Aethiopum*) in his study
of the Ethiopian historical presence in Jerusalem by Sebastian Brandt in
1219, but there is no reason to suppose that Brandt was not actually referring
to Nubians, though, of course, both groups could have been grouped
together.[51] Supporting the later thirteenth-century dating of the first Latin
Christian references to Ethiopians, *Jabeni* (a corruption of *Ḥabaša*) were also
noted in 1283, though only in relation to the Holy Land more generally with
their presence in Jerusalem only being implied.[52] There is no doubt that an
Ethiopian community resided in Jerusalem by 1290 as attested by a letter to
the Ethiopian community in the city sent, along with gifts, by the Ethiopian
ruler Yagbe'ä Səyon (r. 1285–94).[53] Regrettably, known surviving Ethiopian
material culture from Jerusalem does not predate the fourteenth century to
offer further avenues of enquiry to substantiate earlier communities.[54]

   The relatively late documentation of Ethiopians in Jerusalem during the
Crusader period is most associated with their supposed receipt of churches
by Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn following his capture of the city in 1187. Known sources
for this, however, only date to 1573 and 1844, respectively. Athanasios
Papadopoulos-Kerameus' 1844 account has been argued to be a forgery by
Emery van Donzel, with Stefano Lusignano's 1573 text equally being dis-
missed for its late dating.[55] The lack of references to any African participa-
tion in specific ceremonies, such as the ceremony of the Feast of the Holy
Fire in Jerusalem at Easter where Ethiopians are not listed as participants
until 1481–3, is further illustrative of their supposed earlier absence during
the Crusader period.[56] Sergew Hable Sellassie argued for an absence of an
Ethiopian presence in the twelfth-century Holy Land based on the text of the
gadl of the twelfth-century Ethiopian *ḥaḍe* Yemreḥanna Krestos.[57] The text
relates how death threats were made to the Ethiopian monks in Jerusalem by
other Christian monks who became jealous as only the lamps of the
Ethiopians were said to be able to be lit at Easter, which led to the Coptic
patriarch – who is named as Kyril, or Athanasius in some cases, but this
chronologically could not have been the case – forbidding Ethiopian pilgrims
travelling to Jerusalem for three years in order to maintain peace.[58] However,
when exactly this referred to is difficult to ascertain, not least as the only
Coptic patriarchs named Kyril in this period were Kyril II (r. 1078–92) and
Kyril III ibn Laqlaq (r. 1235–43), whilst the only Athanasius was Athanasius
III (r. 1250–61), which would not correlate with other details commonly
attributed to Yemreḥanna Krestos, such as ruling before his cousin Lalibäla
(r. c. before 1204–after 1225). The earliest manuscripts of the *gadl* only date
from the late-fifteenth century and should be contextualised within their
Solomonic environment of production which sought to offer an account of

the sainthood of the *nəguś*.[59] Indeed, as Marie-Laure Derat has highlighted, other fifteenth-century texts place importance on the narrative of the Ethiopian lamps in Jerusalem which may suggest that the conflict was created by the producer of the *gadl* to relate to a later wider trope rather than an historical event.[60] There is no evidence that the absence of Ethiopians in Jerusalem was prolonged, and the banning of pilgrims, if anything, only suggests an active Ethiopian presence in the city prior to the few years that the *gadl* is meant to refer to.

In addition to the lack of contemporary African texts on the matter, for the majority of the twelfth century, Latin Christian texts appear to have been much more focused on the buildings of the Holy Land and how to navigate between them, rather than their occupants. Little is documented about the geography of exchanges between Latin Christians and either Nubians or Ethiopians in the twelfth century. The absence of Ethiopians, and to a lesser extent Nubians, in texts is reflective of a wider issue of textual production, especially in a Latin Christian context, rather than as a direct result of their universal non-existence. For instance, beyond the major centres of the Holy Land – such as Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth – Ethiopians are documented at the Monastery of Mar Musa in Syria and on Mount Lebanon, though these references date only from the fifteenth century.[61] Their appearance at Mar Musa appears linked to the expulsion of Ethiopian monks in Lebanon by the Maronites in 1488, but the scale of their prior presence, if any, is unknown.[62] Given the need to travel to and from sites and in light of references such as those of Patriarch Michael Rabo, a sizeable Nubian and Ethiopian population remained undocumented outside of specific sites of interest. Attempts at reconstructing their populations in the earlier centuries, especially elsewhere in the Holy Land, will remain hindered.

Nevertheless, fragmentary evidence attests to both Nubians and Ethiopians in the Holy Land centuries prior to the Crusades, further questioning the validity of any such debates on their respective earlier presence. For instance, not long after the conversion of ʾAksum, 'Ethiopians' were witnessed in Jerusalem according to a letter from Paula and Eustochium to Marcella in 386, and St. Jerome, in a letter written in 403, though these 'Ethiopians' could just as likely have been Nubians from the region of Aswan who had received Christianity long before the official mid-six-century arrival of Byzantine missionaries.[63] Equally, the otherwise unknown sixth-century Piacenza Pilgrim describes seeing men from *Aethiopiae* in Jerusalem and Elusa who were said to have had their 'nostrils split, ears cut, boots on their feet, and rings on their toes' by orders of Emperor Trajan, which would seemingly suggest their identification as Nubians from Nobadia bordering the then Byzantine Empire in Egypt.[64] Similarly, in the eighth century, St. Willibald was said to have met two 'Ethiopians' (*Ethiops*) on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land.[65] In support of the textual evidence, whilst early Nubian evidence is currently lacking, there is suggestive numismatic evidence for an ʾAksumite presence in Jerusalem, particularly in the mid-first millennium CE.[66] ʾAksum also appeared to have designed multiple churches based on those of the Holy

Land, notably the Holy Sepulchre, which would have required artisans with experience of the Holy Land to build them.[67] There is also some evidence to suggest that a major disruption to pilgrimage routes did not occur following the fall of ʾAksum. One eleventh- or early twelfth-century inscription found in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn, located between Alexandria and Cairo, for example, insinuates the journey of 11 Ethiopian pilgrims to Jerusalem who left the inscription during a layover following the death of two companions.[68] Jerusalem is not mentioned by name, but the pilgrims may have ultimately desired to travel to Jerusalem after a number of other sites in Egypt. In the Nubian context, archaeological evidence from Lower Nubia at the monastery of Apa Dioscorus suggests an expansion of pilgrimage activity travelling north from the eleventh century as greater kitchen and accommodation space was built to accommodate passing visitors.[69] Both Ethiopian and Nubian pilgrimage activity was certainly active upon the onset of the Crusades.

The recording of Nubians and Ethiopians in the Holy Land by the Latin Christians largely owes itself to a significant development in pilgrimage. Towards the end of the twelfth century, Latin Christian itineraries began to shift their focus from mapping limited specific locations to documenting more inquisitive elements of their journeys.[70] This was especially the case following the loss of Jerusalem in 1187 when alternative routes had to be devised to best ensure safety and access across Holy Land sites. Nevertheless, uninterest by an author should not necessarily be mistaken for a physical absence. Indeed, Anton Schall has posited an Ethiopian connection in relation to the production of a twelfth-century liturgical drama from Rouen which he suggested transliterated some Gəʿəz words, which, Schall argued, could possibly also attest to an earlier Ethiopian presence in Jerusalem who were able to act as mediators between Europe and Ethiopia despite the otherwise limited evidence for a twelfth-century presence. What the text is meant to precisely portray is difficult to ascertain, but Schall argued that the line *Ase ai ase elo allo abadac* was influenced by the Gəʿəz words *aṣe* (lord), *ʾallä* (he is), and *ʾabbä* (father), which, when taken together, was likely meant to convey something akin to 'Lord, Lord, he is the Father' by the character within the drama.[71] The character is not identified as an Ethiopian in the text, and there is no other evidence to support Schall's hypothesis, but it certainly is an interesting observation. Regrettably, few other sources aid our understanding of these otherwise 'silent' twelfth-century African populations in the Holy Land in addition to the aforementioned statement by the Jacobite patriarch Michael Rabo prior to the beginning of Latin Christian documentation from the 1170s.

Dating the presence of both Ethiopians and Nubians in Jerusalem during the Crusader period is important for establishing their potential role in knowledge networks. Monastic communities, for instance, were not isolated from their homelands or even necessarily from each other. Ethiopia was in communication with communities in both Jerusalem and Egypt, although surviving evidence is too fragmentary to aid in questions of scale and regularity.[72] Similarly, the Ethiopian community in Jerusalem gifted a manuscript

copy of the *Acts of Saints and Martyrs* in 1379 to the Ethiopian community in Dayr al-Muharraq, Egypt, for example, reflecting the connectivity between Ethiopian communities beyond Ethiopia.[73] Regrettably, no earlier evidence for similar interconnectivity is known. Moreover, evidence within Ethiopia is suggestive of at least a cultural importance of places in the Holy Land which would suggest some interest to undertake pilgrimage to these locations. For instance, the rock-hewn churches in Lalibäla, which is also known as Roḥa and Wärwär, derive their toponym of Roḥa from Edessa (Arabic: *al-Ruḥā*). The rock-hewn complex is traditionally dated to the twelfth century – though some churches have evidence of earlier phases of construction – and can be interpreted as symbolising numerous pilgrimage sites that Ethiopians would have most likely seen on their visits to Jerusalem. According to the *gaḍl* of the complex's supposed creator *ḥaḍe* Lalibäla, it was designed to create a New Jerusalem in Ethiopia and to emulate the holy city.[74] As Marie-Laure Derat has pointed out, Ethiopian evidence for the site's emulation of specific Jerusalemite sites only dates to the fifteenth century, so this narrative attribution may be of a later date, possibly only from at least the earliest surviving fourteenth-century incarnations of the *Gädl Lalibäla* which created the site's mythology.[75] Whatever the reason for Roḥa's establishment narrative, its emulation of Holy Land sites created a centre for surrogate pilgrimage similar to many other contemporary examples throughout the Christian world.[76] In addition to the other evidence, the very existence of the churches at Roḥa would suggest a prior relatively widespread interest in travelling to Jerusalem for any desire to create a New Jerusalem to fruit.

The problem of dating the Nubian presence in Jerusalem has its own issues. For example, despite Theodoric's first reference to Nubians in the city in 1172, according to Ludolph of Sudheim in the mid-fourteenth century, 'In my time the *Nubiani* did not have a place of their own, but the Sultan had a chapel specially built for them', which suggests that a permanent Nubian presence should be attributed to a later date.[77] This would seemingly be a secondary outcome of the donation of parts of the Holy Sepulchre to the Franciscans by the Mamlūk sultan, al-Malik an-Nāṣir (r. 1293–1341), in 1333, though Sabino de Sandoli has suggested that a donation to the Nubians was always an intention of this exchange.[78] Whatever the case, Jacopo da Verona stated during his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1335 that the Nubian chapel on Mount Calvary was 'often visited' (*illam capellam sepe visitavi*) by *Nubiani*.[79] It may not be inconsequential that fourteenth-century Latin Christian references to Nubians at Calvary increasingly appear after the 1330s.[80] Reflective of this may be an anonymous account of the Holy Land (wr. c. 1350), which was an expansion of an earlier account by Philippus Brusserius Savonensis (fl. c. 1290). It actively included this information of Nubians worshipping at Calvary despite Philippus not mentioning anything on the matter, possibly to address an increased Nubian presence following the donation of the chapel.[81] It may simply be that Nubians previously resided elsewhere in the city in locations that did not have a similar shared importance with the Latin Christians and were deemed comparatively

unnoteworthy. None of the earlier references to Nubians in the city attach them to a specific location beyond the more general attestation to their presence at the Holy Sepulchre. For example, in a legend on the Ebstorf *mappamundi* (thirteenth century), it related that Nubians made frequent visits to the Holy Sepulchre with a lot of wealth for offerings.[82] Other Latin Christian commentators during the thirteenth century commonly only note their general presence in the city, building on the observation by Theodoric in 1172. In addition to the sources already cited, notable observations were also made by Alberic of Trois-Fontaines (fl. c. 1241), who described *Nubiani* as one of the eight Christian orders of Jerusalem in 1234, and by Burchard of Mount Sion (fl. c. 1283), who said that he observed an innumerable number of *Nubi* in the Holy Land during his travels.[83] By no means have all the known Latin Christian references to Nubians and Ethiopians in the Holy Land been noted here, but none provide any further information than what has already been presented. In all, a picture emerges of a significant Nubian and Ethiopian presence in the Holy Land, especially in Jerusalem, alongside Latin Christians between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.

Before moving on to discuss what can be said of Nubians and Ethiopians in the role of facilitators of knowledge, a discussion of their presence in the Holy Land needs to also address Egypt. In comparison to Jerusalem, or the Holy Land more generally, the Nubian and Ethiopian presence in Egypt is equally inconsistent according to the textual record, at least until the fourteenth century. Nevertheless, similar to the Holy Land, Egypt can be shown to have been a centre of interactions between Nubians, Ethiopians, and Latin Christians which would inspire and facilitate knowledge exchange. Despite the regular exchanges between the Crusader States and Alexandria, neither Nubians nor Ethiopians are commonly described there during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[84] Sporadic notices would attest to their prolonged presence in the city, however. For example, Benjamin of Tudela mentions Ethiopians (people from *Kūš* (חבש) who he associates with Ethiopia proper, *Ḥabaš* (חבשה), elsewhere in his text) in the city in the second half of the twelfth century; merchants from the two 'Ethiopias' (*Ethiopes*) trading in goods from ʿAidhāb in Alexandria are noted in the thirteenth-century French *continuation* of William of Tyre; *Abassijnen* were observed in the fifteenth century by Joos van Ghistele – not to mention the fact that the 1402 Ethiopian embassy to Venice travelled from Alexandria.[85] Additionally, internal Nubian evidence would allude to Alexandria possibly having been an important pilgrimage centre for Nubians given the importance of the *Miracle of St Mina*, which was centred in Alexandria, in Nubian culture, though current evidence restricts this to only being a suggestion.[86] Moreover, both Nubian and Ethiopian monks had a permanent presence in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn, located in the middle of the route between Cairo and Alexandria, who likely were able to act as facilitators of any pilgrimage route to Alexandria and beyond as other monasteries did in other Nubian and Ethiopian pilgrimage networks.[87] The movement of the Coptic See to Cairo in the eleventh century to aid in the reception of the numerous Nubian and

Ethiopian messengers detailed in the *History of the Patriarchs*, would attest to relatively common diasporas arriving in the city, if not also beyond to Alexandria on occasion.[88]

Elsewhere, other notable centres of exchange likely had much larger Nubian and Ethiopian communities than the textual references would suggest, such as in Cairo. Whilst the description by Abū al-Makārim of Nubians and Ethiopians in twelfth-century Cairo attests to their presence, Latin Christians remained relatively slow to record either Nubian or Ethiopian communities in either the city or its outskirts in a Christian context, either at a church or a shrine, until the fourteenth century.[89] Although, Oliver of Paderborn did make specific note of witnessing 'Ethiopian' traders in Cairo in the early thirteenth century.[90] The scale of merchant diasporas should not be overlooked when viewed alongside the presence of pilgrims and envoys. In the case of Dotawo, for instance, Giovanni Ruffini has highlighted how the Nubian evidence from Qasr Ibrim regarding economic exchanges, which primarily dates to the late twelfth century, appears to closely correlate, seemingly uncoincidentally, with Egyptian values.[91] Such evidence is suggestive that Nubian mercantile diasporas were regularly present in Egypt, and it cannot be discounted that many operated beyond the border region around Aswan too. Whilst the scale of Nubian or Ethiopian interaction with Latin Christians in Egypt cannot be detailed with any great specificity until the fourteenth century, it should not be overlooked.

Nubians and Ethiopians as Facilitators of Latin Christian Knowledge Development

By no means has all the evidence for Nubian and Ethiopian presences in the Holy Land and Egypt been presented here, particularly in locations with no known documented, or presumed, interactions with Latin Christians. For example, possibly contemporary Old Nubian texts have been found at Edfu and Qena in Upper Egypt, but nothing can be said about either the size of any Nubian populations and if any Latin Christian would have witnessed or engaged with them.[92] Other sources, such as the twelfth-century Old Nubian inscription concerning *ourou* Georgios IV from the Wādī al-Naṭrūn, still pose questions of provenance and material portability. It is unclear if the white marble tray which carries the inscription had relocated to the Lady Mary Church associated with the Syrian monastery in the valley once the 'Abyssinian' monks' own desert residence had deteriorated too much by the first half of the nineteenth century.[93] Given the fall of Dotawo in the sixteenth century and that the 'Abyssinians' in question were truly Ethiopians, it is unclear why Ethiopian monks would have housed the marble tray, if, indeed, the tray was not already at the church before they had relocated to it. Nevertheless, the potential scope and scale of interactions are clear, especially involving Nubians and Latin Christians. It would appear uncoincidental that Latin Christians developed their earlier interest in Nubia during the twelfth century, rather than Ethiopia, given the geographical proximity of

Dotawo to the areas of the Red Sea trade that the Latin Christians were party to and the resulting interactions in comparison to the much more southerly, and seemingly more distant, Bəgʷəna.[94]

It cannot be denied that the current evidence for a pre-fourteenth-century Nubian and Ethiopian presence in the Holy Land and throughout the Mediterranean is very fragmentary for certain groups beyond those who may be identified as traders or pilgrims. In the case of enslaved and manumitted Nubians or Ethiopians, for example, there is little evidence of such slavery being conducted in the Crusader States, though this was not the case in the wider Mediterranean. Few sources, however, clearly attest to the origin of slaves to shed light on alternative Nubian and Ethiopian diasporas of those enslaved and manumitted – a notable exception is Mubāraka of *Nūba* who was sold in Alexandria to some Venetians in 1419 and is known from an Arabic document – with most Latin Christian sources describing enslaved Africans generically as 'Ethiopians', *negri*, or 'moors'.[95] Yet, these communities should not be forgotten and could equally have integrated into society if they were manumitted. One illustrative example, albeit from the early Portuguese raids of West Africa in the mid-fifteenth century, is of a former unnamed West African captive who became a Franciscan near Sagres in Portugal after being freed.[96] The roles of slaves and the manumitted diaspora should not be overlooked even though the available evidence offers little on their potential activities in knowledge dissemination during this period.[97]

Furthermore, very little scholarship has been conducted on inter-Christian conversions and their role in knowledge transmission. In one instance, whilst the rhetoric largely outweighs the historical accuracy of the statement, Alberic of Trois-Fontaines noted how some *Nubiani*, along with a few other Eastern groups, had converted in 1205 on account of witnessing a miracle prior to communion conducted by a certain Jonas, patriarch of Susa.[98] No other source contains this conversion story and it is likely that the description should primarily be viewed as rhetoric attesting to the importance of the preaching of the 1230s and 1240s during the time when Alberic was writing. Yet, the passage highlights the possibility that some Eastern Christians, including Nubians, could have converted to Latin Christianity, which may be expected amongst interacting societies. Indeed, the same should be noted regarding the possible reverse scenario. One example regarding Catholic 'Ethiopians' in Latin Europe appears in the *Annals* of Colmar (wr. ended 1305), a town in north-eastern France, which makes a passing suggestive reference of the participation of 'Ethiopians' (*Ethiopem*) wearing white in a mass led by Henry Bishop of Basel in the Franciscan church of Colmar in 1282.[99] There is no reason to necessarily assume that this was a rhetorical device of some sort by the author of the annal and was actually a factual observation, even if a secure identification of the 'Ethiopians' may be tenuous. A similar scenario could readily have occurred in the Holy Land. Certainly, there is ample documented and artistic evidence which attests to the presence of Africans throughout Europe, even if we are often unable to identify them explicitly as Nubians or Ethiopians.[100] Presumably many of

these were Nubians and Ethiopians, however. Nubians and Ethiopians in Latin Christian society would have been further potential vessels for knowledge regarding their homeland in both the Holy Land and in Latin Europe.

For our purposes, we also cannot discount the role of Africans as elite members of the society of the Crusader States and, thus, their ability to disseminate knowledge. For example, an otherwise unknown Guido of *Nubie* is listed as a witness to three separate letters in 1226.[101] Who was he? It is possible that he was from the small fief of *Nubia* which was documented to be in the County of Tripoli in a letter dated 1163.[102] Yet, whilst little else is known about the fief, it appears likely that it would have no longer been under Latin Christian control after 1187. Moreover, the lack of other references to this fief would suggest that it had little importance, perhaps making it unlikely to have been designated as a patronym for Guido if the fief had been lost prior to 1187 – almost four decades before his role as a witness. Alternatively, Guido may have come from Bait Nuba, located between Jaffa and Jerusalem, though there is no other recorded instance of this place being referred to as *Nubie*.[103] Given the uncertainty of the location, should it be so readily dismissed that Guido may have been a converted Nubian on account of his, possibly adopted, Italianised name and his attributed, possibly African, origin? Guido is the only known example of someone from a place called 'Nubia' in Crusader society, though his case would not have been unique. There are multiple instances of people with the name *Saraceni*, *Mauri*, or *Nigri* – which could indicate appearance, origin of birth (either meaning of dark skin or from a place such as the Black Mountains), or their or a previous ancestors' occupation (such as a black textile dyer) – emphasising that the Latin Christian community was not racially homogenous by any means. Specifically for inhabitants with the surname of 'Black' (*Niger*), there are five or six people who are either the content of deeds or witnesses to deeds throughout the twelfth century in the Kingdom of Jerusalem.[104] Whilst we cannot know for sure whether any of these were of African origin, the existence of such people, and their potential role in knowledge dissemination regarding regions of Africa, should not be dismissed out of hand.

Elsewhere throughout the wider Mediterranean, Nubians were explicitly observed in or were said to have been present in Constantinople, Cyprus, and near Santiago de Compostela in Spain, between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, thus highlighting the Mediterranean nature of Nubian society.[105] The witnessing of the small Nubian entourage in Constantinople in 1203 by the Fourth Crusaders, which was led by a figure introduced as the 'king of Nubia'(*li rois de Nubie*) to the Latins by the Byzantine emperor who was on his way to his desired destinations of Rome and Santiago de Compostela, as recorded by Robert of Clari, is further exemplary of the potential geographical scope of otherwise undocumented interactions. Whilst only one additional member of the Nubian group had reached Constantinople with the 'king', the original number who had set off from Nubia was said to have been 60 and highlights the difficulty in reconstructing the potential scope of interactions in locations and on journeys towards destinations.[106] If the

identification of the Nubian figure as a 'king' is to be believed, it would appear to have been a retired *ourou* Moüses Georgios; although surviving Nubian sources are so far quiet on whether Moüses Gorgios did indeed retire or was even exiled.[107] The *ourou* during the time of the delegation was Basil, who appears in the Nubian record from 1198, providing that there was not a subsequent otherwise unknown change in ruler. Since Benjamin Hendrickx's identification in 1985 that the 'king' was the Ethiopian *ḥaḍe* Lalibäla, this identification has continued to be repeated, often without further critique.[108] However, this identification would appear to make little sense as Lalibäla is known to have reigned at least until 1225, whereas the identification of Moüses Georgios aligns with the Nubian contextual evidence. Why exactly the delegation travelled to Constantinople is unknown. Motives could range from being an actual journey of pilgrimage to seeking aid following likely devastation caused in Lower Nubia by consecutive years of a failed low Nile flood, famine, and disease between 1200 and 1202, which was compounded by possible damage caused by a destructive regional earthquake which struck in 1202, based on how these events affected neighbouring Upper Egypt.[109] These events are not recorded in any known surviving Old Nubian documentation and current archaeology has not yet addressed these possible environmental effects on Nubia, but they cannot be discounted as possible causes for sending a delegation to Constantinople, whether as a primary or secondary concern, by Dotawo, if, indeed, it was an official delegation. Delegations to Constantinople may not have been uncommon either. According to Eustathios, the twelfth-century Archbishop of Thessaloniki, he observed 'Ethiopians' at the court of Emperor Manuel I in 1173/4 amongst other foreign peoples.[110] Whilst Eustathios may well have been using rhetoric to over-represent the worldly influence of the emperor, the statement should also not be dismissed out of hand given the fragmentary nature of sources concerning Nubian diplomacy beyond Egypt throughout this period. Importantly, any travelling delegations would have had to travel either through the Holy Land or across the Mediterranean, further displaying otherwise silent possibilities for arenas of interaction.

Ethiopians, too, were present in Cyprus, Armenia, and, possibly, Rome prior to 1400, indicated by both Ethiopian and Latin Christian texts and material evidence.[111] The first established religious Ethiopian presence in Rome is traditionally associated with the donation of the Church of Santo Stefano to the Ethiopian community by Pope Sixtus IV (r. 1471–84). However, according to Francesco Maria Torrigio in 1635, the learned canon and scholar active at the Vatican, Pope Alexander III was said to have first housed *Ethiopi* (Ethiopians) at Santo Stefano in the sixth year of his pontificate, 1165–6, though this may be an attempt at providing an origin to the later donation by Sixtus.[112] No other sources corroborate Torrigio's account. That said, it is noteworthy that the same Pope Alexander III had sent a letter to the otherwise unknown 'King of the Indies' in 1177 who had previously asked permission to build a church in Rome. Attributing authorship to the letter is contentious, but along with Torrigio's text, an earlier Christian African

presence in Rome, though possibly brief given its silence in the sources, may need to be readdressed.[113] No Ethiopian evidence sheds light on the matter, but the evidence currently points to an elaborate fabrication by later writers to provide a narrative of much earlier relations with the Ethiopians during the later years of diplomacy; though the Latin Christians had, in fact, been expelled from Ethiopia in 1633 prior to Torrigio's writing.

No matter which groups may or may not be particularly well-evidenced, the questions such communities pose aid to interrogate the established narratives and the intimate interactions that knowledge networks had the potential to create. For example, how did people communicate? Was there a *lingua franca* or were there alternative methods of communication? If there was such a language, the most likely candidate would have been Arabic. Arabic is well attested in Nubia and Ethiopia and was widely known in the Crusader States and had the additional benefit of its use during travel in Egypt and the Red Sea.[114] In the case of Nubia, there is limited evidence for Latin Christian knowledge of Coptic, which also may have facilitated interactions in some arenas.[115] Indeed, the Latin Christians were very aware that the ability to be multilingual was a necessity to operate successfully in the East.[116] Comparative limited evidence for linguistic knowledge in Nubia is also available. One Old Nubian document from Qasr Ibrim, which possibly dates to as early as the late twelfth century, first brought to light by Giovanni Ruffini, also seemingly reflects otherwise largely unnoted interaction. The text in question appears to be a plea to the saints Maria and Simeon. However, it is the use of *santa* in reference to saints Maria and Simeon (ⲥⲁⲛⲧⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ and ⲥⲁⲛⲧⲁ ⲥⲓⲙⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ), rather than the expected Old Nubian words for 'saint', which would be either *agios* (ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ) or *ngiss* (ⲅ̄ⲓⲥⲥ), which is significant.[117] Despite being the only known example of this kind, the use of the Italianised *santa* in reference to the saints would suggest prolonged interactions by the author with Italians, whether in Egypt or in Qasr Ibrim itself.[118] Whilst we may not be able to speak of a blanket scenario for language exchange, it is without doubt that individuals were always capable of maintaining more intimate modes of communication with personalised linguistic knowledge beyond the surviving source corpus.

From the Nubian and Ethiopian points of view, there were also alternatives to Arabic for conducting communication. For instance, the Nubian knowledge of Syriac and the implied knowledge of Armenian in Nubia, or of Nubian languages by Armenians, by Hetʿum of Corycus to facilitate communication, noted earlier, should not be overlooked for their potential scope in communication, notably in more northerly Holy Land cities pertaining to otherwise undocumented interactions, such as in Antioch. Similarly, the appearance of *santa* in the Old Nubian document cannot be dismissed as evidencing some outlets of Nubian knowledge of Italian, notably within Egypt. Regrettably, there is little comparative indicative evidence, no matter how slight, for the Ethiopian picture, though the Rouen manuscript analysed by Anton Schall possibly reflects at least one example of intimate linguistic interaction between a Latin and Gəʿəz speaker in the twelfth century.

That said, there are alternative methods of communication other than verbal language. For example, signs and gestures are a universal technique and played vital roles elsewhere, such as in the early encounters of Latin Christians in West Africa and the Americas.[119] Moreover, in the Latin European case, sign language was known to have developed its own specific lexicons, which, if we can transplant this into a context involving Nubians or Ethiopians, a visual lexicon may have been shared between communities in the Crusader States, including by Nubians and Ethiopians, associated with pilgrimage routes.[120] Equally, the existence of phrase books cannot be discounted.

One early fifteenth-century text reflects how valuable such a guide could be. An anonymous itinerary, dated to c. 1410, showcases demonstrable Venetian knowledge of the Ethiopian languages of Gəʿəz and Amharic, as well as Arabic.[121] It is not intended here to offer a full dissection of the text but to offer some examples found within it to highlight its importance for evidencing the knowledge of language by Latin Christians to communicate with Ethiopians. The itinerary provides practical transliterated words and phrases with translations in Latin which would commonly be used by a traveller; in this case, one going to Ethiopia. Travellers are provided with the means to communicate when in need of essentials. For instance, 'money' (*Argentum*) is given as *brur*, closely resembling *birr*, the Gəʿəz and Amharic word for silver. *Vaca* ('water'), appears to have been understood by the guide's author by its Amharic form, *waha* ('water'), rather than its Gəʿəz or Arabic form *may/māʾ*, signalling a yet more intimate means of language acquisition by the author as Gəʿəz remained the primary textual language of Ethiopia at that time. Other words, such as *asa* ('fish') and *sact* ('fire') are practically identical to the Gəʿəz or Amharic equivalent, *ʿaśa* and *ʾəsāt* (Gəʿəz)/*isati* (Amharic), respectively. It is impossible to tell if the author of the guide had only learnt the required knowledge for the guide during a relatively recent and increased period of exchange between Ethiopians and Latin Christians from 1402 or if the text can be said to have been somewhat indicative of interactions elsewhere in previous decades. Nevertheless, the content of the text would be expected to have been representative of base lexicons which may have been used by interacting Nubians, Ethiopians, and Latin Christians, whether in Jerusalem, Alexandria, Cairo, or elsewhere.

The role of interpreters cannot be understated either despite direct early evidence being sparse, specifically in relation to interactions with Christian Africans. For instance, the potential role of former Latin Christians in communication may be gleaned by the interaction of Symon Semeonis with two Italian dragomen in Egypt in the early fourteenth century who were Jacobites – importantly, these Jacobites would likely have interacted with other Jacobites, including Nubians and Ethiopians via a shared knowledge of Arabic.[122] Elsewhere, the interpreter who accompanied Niccolò da Poggibonsi in Egypt in the mid-fourteenth century was able to distinguish the language of one group of people in a set of trees as the *lingua etiopica* as he did not understand it, though he did single it out as he did know that it was not Arabic or Hebrew.[123] Equally, presumably some interpreters would have known African

languages, as they would have been either Nubian or Ethiopian themselves. Regrettably, the systematic learning of either Old Nubian or Gəʿəz by Latin Christians can only be suggested. The sixteenth century is most commonly associated with the period of great Latin Christian learning of Eastern languages. Yet, it should not be forgotten that although direct evidence is limited, in addition to the early fifteenth-century Latin-Gəʿəz travel guide, it would also be likely that the missionary activity of the thirteenth century would have called for the learning of Nubian and Ethiopian languages. For example, the 1236 General Chapter of the Dominicans explicitly decreed that friars must learn the local language of their preaching area.[124] As will be discussed in Chapter 5, the dismissal of the actual engagements of such activity which largely prevails in current scholarship may not necessarily be warranted. Unfortunately, the earliest surviving Latin Christian documentation of the Ethiopian and Nubian alphabets only dates to the end of the fifteenth century.[125] Comparatively, based on current evidence, nothing more can be said either regarding Nubian or Ethiopian knowledge of Latin or other Western European languages prior to the fifteenth century.

In addition to the question of communication, another question is important: how did people gain access to accommodation and provisions whilst travelling? The case of the remnants of the Nubian entourage who were present in Constantinople in 1203 is particularly illustrative for thinking about these questions. Sixty Nubians, along with the 'king', were said to have originally left Nubia, with only ten surviving the journey to Jerusalem and only the 'king' and one other making it to Constantinople.[126] Why the number dwindled is uncertain, and it may be possible that the whole group never had the intention of reaching Constantinople together. It does not necessarily follow that the majority of the losses in number were the result of disease or banditry. In any case, the group would have needed provisions for their journey and access to accommodation. Two scenarios would appear to have been the most likely. Either the group took all provisions, including food and forms of finance, with them or they were able to access the aid of either hostels or the wider Mediterranean Latin Christian banking system. It would appear unlikely that they hauled all the necessities with them, as would be normal practice for pilgrims, especially if such a baggage train may have been dependent on the group's number. With such a depletion of numbers, potentially vital things were at risk of having to have been left behind. Regrettably, the lack of current evidence can only be filled with suggestions. No Nubian coinage has ever been found, so their finance would seemingly have been either in goods for barter, highlighting the importance of a maintained baggage train, or, possibly, the use of Egyptian or Crusader coinage. Nubian monasteries and pilgrimage sites were known for providing hospitality to visitors, but then this comes back to the question of the dating of a permanent Nubian presence in Jerusalem and in other sites on the way to Constantinople. Sites in Nubia and Egypt are attested for this role, but if the Nubian presence was only made permanent in Jerusalem in the 1330s, at least at the Holy Sepulchre, who would they have stayed with in such situations, particularly north of

Jerusalem where comparative evidence is scant?[127] There remains the possibility of 'private' providers if, for such illustrative purposes, we can suggest that figures, such as Adam Niger who sold land to the Hospitallers in Jerusalem in 1163, and those like him, may have been Nubian and operated hostels on their land to provide provisions and hospitality to the pilgrimage trade.[128] That is also not to say that Nubians would only have stayed with fellow Nubians either.

Notably, very little direct evidence illuminates specific Nubian churches or monasteries in locations between Jerusalem and Constantinople to support a Nubian pilgrimage network which operated solely in isolation from other groups, presuming that the Nubians took a land route – of course, the sea route via Cyprus could equally have been the likely route. Similarly, such questions equally apply to Ethiopians, though later evidence would suggest an integrated provision network. For example, the role of the *mäggabi* in some Ethiopian monasteries, such as in Jerusalem, Qusqam, and in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn acted as a 'provisioner' for visitors, whilst the 1379 donation of the community in Jerusalem to those at Dayr al-Muharraq attests to a possible network of sites that could facilitate the safe journeys of Ethiopian pilgrims.[129] Despite the lack of evidence, presumably, there were also Ethiopian pilgrims and travellers who ventured beyond the major centres, similar to the 1203 Nubian entourage to Constantinople, whose own access to finance and provisions poses similar questions. Either we need to view the Nubian and Ethiopian presence as being much greater than the sources suggest in order to oversee explicitly Nubian or Ethiopian networks or that they, along with presumably other groups, were able to gain much more intimate access to the social and economic mechanisms of the wider Mediterranean world than any evidence currently suggests.

We shall end our discussion here by highlighting the potential role of the Holy Sepulchre as a specific site of knowledge transmission. After its renovation following the establishment of the Kingdom of Jerusalem was completed in 1149, it is one of the few places where we can suggest specific knowledge development by Nubians regarding the Latin Christians. For example, according to Ludolph of Sudheim, writing in the mid-fourteenth century, the Nubians worshipped in their chapel at Calvary alongside the tombs of Godfrey of Bouillon (r. 1099–1100) and King Baldwin I (r. 1100–18).[130] It would then seem likely that resident and visiting Nubians at the Holy Sepulchre would have become intimately aware of these tombs and, perhaps, their significance to the Latin Christians as the first two Latin rulers of Jerusalem. Whilst some sources describe the tombs as being destroyed by the Kwarezmians in 1244, the tombs were still being shown to visitors until the fire of 1808.[131] Indeed, Ludolph of Sudheim's explicit use of the present tense (*sunt*, 'are') when describing the Nubian presence alongside the tombs in the chapel is indicative of the tombs' survival. The spatial relationship between the Nubians and the tombs would likely have inspired Nubian curiosity akin to that of the Latin Christians elsewhere. Certainly, Godfrey and Baldwin remained prevalent in Latin Christian culture and would hardly have kept the

Nubians isolated from Latin Christians wanting to see the tombs. For instance, both Godfrey and Baldwin were integral characters in the so-called First and, especially, Second Old French Crusade Cycles of *chansons de geste* whose manuscripts commonly date to between the late twelfth and the fourteenth century. The *chansons* were just one form of cultural memory of the Crusades and, by extension, prominent, later turned legendary, crusading figures within Latin Christendom.[132] Dating the Nubian relationship with the space is more problematic. Based on the absence of evidence, Nubian worshippers can only be proposed to have worshipped in that specific chapel following the donation of the chapel to them in 1333 by the Mamlūk sultan, as noted earlier. However, the later donation of the chapel would suggest that it was to serve an already sizeable Nubian population – whether permanent, semi-permanent, or non-permanent – which had long been present in the Holy Sepulchre. Whether Nubians had previously been worshipping in the chapel, particularly when Jerusalem was not under the control of the Latin Christians when the choice of worshipping spaces may have been less regulated, is unknown. Nevertheless, the shared space of the Holy Sepulchre, and the contents within, would likely have inspired questioning between a range of individuals. Despite the complete lack of sources for the Nubian perspective on this sharing of space and its material consequences, we should not presume that these exchanges had no impact upon Nubians, or indeed Ethiopians in comparative circumstances, similar to what they had on the Latin Christians.

The multiplicity of interactions, both documented and not, between Latin Christians and Nubians and Ethiopians, as well as with other Eastern groups, during the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, created numerous avenues for potential knowledge dissemination regarding Christian Africa. Whilst we may only be able to primarily see the Latin Christian perspective of these exchanges, they equally should be viewed as having similar impacts on Nubian and Ethiopian knowledge of the Latins. Significantly, the limited surviving evidence should not be viewed as reflecting a lack of a presence or the lack of exchange. Equally, the majority of the communal knowledge of all groups remained undocumented and should not be understated. For instance, it can safely be assumed that Latin Christians were aware of the Nubian and Ethiopian practice of scarification to create images of a cross on their skin, particularly on their faces, which Latin Christians often described as being 'baptised by fire' (echoing the words of John the Baptist in Matthew 3:11), through observation, long before the first Latin Christian texts begin to record this from the thirteenth century.[133] Throughout the documented history of the presence of Nubian and Ethiopian diasporas during the crusading period, a key question that is often ignored by contemporary writers is how intimate were these interactions? Whilst undocumented interaction would have been common, textual references remain relatively silent on more intimate exchanges. There is one notable exception to this, however, which is likely more illustrative than its single instance. For example, Niccolò da Poggibonsi, a Tuscan Franciscan friar who visited the Holy Land and Egypt

between the years 1345–50, specifically commented that Eastern Christians, including *Nubini*, worshipped together on Holy Saturday after the hour of the Vespers.[134] Additionally, in Egypt, he related how he celebrated mass to a congregation of *Nubbiani* at the Church of St. Martin between Cairo and Babylon, where he also held the body of St. Martin, a bishop of Alexandria, in his arms, though he did not state the language or means of communication.[135] Poggibonsi did not merely observe Nubians from afar and revealed his engagements with them, albeit not in overly great additional detail. It is clear that interactions between Latin Christians, Nubians, and Ethiopians should be viewed as being much more numerous and intimate than the sources depict. What that meant for knowledge networks and avenues of dissemination can never be fully known, yet one thing is for certain: Nubians, Ethiopians, and Latin Christians were far from strangers to each other.

Notes

1 In addition to the discussion here, the later Mamlūk period has similarly been viewed within the framework of the influence of news and rumour networks: T. Wollina, 'News and Rumour – Local Sources of Knowledge About the World', in *Everything is on the Move: The Mamluk Empire as a Node in (Trans-) Regional Networks*, ed. S. Conermann (Göttingen, 2014), pp. 283–309.

2 *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis ab Hybernia ad Terrum Sanctam*, ed. and trans. M. Esposito (Dublin, 1960), Chs. 71–2, pp. 90–3 (text and trans.).

3 *The Opus Majus of Roger Bacon*, ed. J. H. Bridges, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1900), Pars quarta, Geographia, pp. I:311–14, 318–26, Pars Sexta, Scientia Experimentalis Exemplum II, pp. II:210–11, Pars Septima, Moralis Philosophia Pars Tertia, Ch. IV, II:268 (text); *The Opus Majus of Roger Bacon*, trans. R. B. Burke, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1928), pp. I:330–2, 337–43, II:622–4, 677 (trans.). The passage regarding dragons being a secret to living a long life and increasing intelligence, which is why 'Ethiopians' come to Latin Europe to fly them back, is on II:211 (Bridges text); II:624 (Burke trans.).

4 This concept was conceived as the antithesis of Brian Stock's notion of 'textual communities': B. Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, 1983).

5 M. S. Granovetter, 'The Strength of Weak Ties', *American Journal of Sociology*, 78.6 (1973), pp. 1360–80.

6 B. Hamilton, 'The Impact of the Crusades on Western Geographical Knowledge', in *Eastward Bound: Travel and Travellers, 1050–1550*, ed. R. Allen (Manchester, 2004), pp. 15–34; Seignobos, 'L'autre Ethiopie'; Hamilton, 'The Crusades and North-East Africa'.

7 Abū Šāma, *Al-Rawḍatayn fī akhbār al-Dawlatayn al-Nūrīya wa al-Ṣalāḥīya*, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1870–1), I:209 (text); OSCN, pp. 369–70 (trans.); Gregorii Barhebraei, *Chronicon Syriacum*, ed. P. Bedjan (Paris, 1890), 346 (text); *La chronographie de Bar Hebraeus: Ktābā dMaktbānut Zabnē: L'histoire du monde d'Adam à Kubilai Khan*, trans. P. Talon, 3 vols. (Fernelmont, 2013), pp. II:104–5 (trans.).

8 U. Z. Shachar, '"Re-Orienting" *Estoires d'Outremer*: The Arabic Context of the Saladin Legend', in *The French of Outremer: Communities and Communications in the Crusading Mediterranean* (New York, 2018), pp. 150–78.

9 Francisco Álvarez, *Verdadeira*, ed. de Albuquerque, Ch. 137, 168 (text); Francisco Álvarez, *Prester John*, trans. Beckingham and Huntingford, II:461 (trans.).

10 For example, Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Orientalis*, ed. and trans. J. Donnadieu (Turnhout, 2008), Chs. 53, 76, pp. 220–3, 308–11 (text and trans.).

11 J. Selden and E. Pococke, *Contextio gemmarum, sive, Eutychii patriarchae Alexandrini annales*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1654–6), II:386 (text); OSCN, 110 (trans.).

12 Petrus ibn al-Rāhib, *Chronicon Orientale*, ed. and trans. L. Cheikho 2 vols. (Beirut, 1903), pp. I:101, 125–6, 130 (text), II:109, 134–5, 139–40 (Latin trans.); Neilos Doxapatrios, 'Των Πατριαρχικων Φρονων', in PG 132, col.1089.

13 *Paul d'Antioche, évêque melkite de Sidon (xiiᵉ s.)*, ed. and trans. P. Khoury (Beirut, 1964), pp. 84–97 (text), 188–99 (trans.).

14 *Paul d'Antioche*, ed. and trans. Khoury, pp. 15–16.

15 For some examples of the Genizah trade to Ethiopia and Nubia, see S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 6 vols. (Berkeley, 1967–93), pp. I:135–7, 138–9, 386, 434; II:283; III:169; IV:219. The Genizah connections include merchants from as far afield as North Africa and is notable evidence for the often-common disparity between connectivity and the surviving textual knowledge corpus.

16 *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, ed. and trans. Evetts, pp. 119–27, 135–42 (text), 260–74, 284–91 (trans.).

17 For examples other than the Armenians in the employment of Egyptian armies, see S. D. Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: The Global Trade Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa* (Berkeley, 2011). Current research on Nubian–Armenian connections is limited, but for Ethiopian–Armenian connections, see H. W. McKenney, 'Examples of Armenian Presence and Contacts in Egypt, Nubia and Ethiopia from 5th to 16th Century', in *Art of the Armenian Diaspora: Proceedings of the Conference, Zamość, April 28–30, 2010*, ed. W. Deluga (Warsaw, 2011), pp. 11–24; Z. Pogossian, 'Armeno-Aethiopica in the Middle Ages: Geography, Tales of Christianization, Calendars, and Anti-Dyophysite Polemics in the First Millennium', *Aethiopica*, 24 (2021), pp. 104–40. Moreover, African toponyms are curiously fewer (five in total) than those of Europe (seven) or Asia (fourteen), along with Jerusalem separately, in the earliest known surviving Armenian map (c.late thirteenth-mid fourteenth century), of which the Asian toponyms show awareness of developing contemporary knowledge of distant ports such as Zaytun (Quanzhou), whereas Africa merely shows Egypt, Alexandria, the Red Sea, Ethiopia (*Hapaš*:Հապաշ), and a lake called *Tuman*, perhaps further illustrating the comparative Armenian contemporary intellectual disconnect with Africa as far as the sources are concerned: R. Galichian, 'A Medieval Armenian T-O Map', *Imago Mundi*, 60.1 (2008), 89.

18 Hetʿum of Corycus, 'La Flor des Estoires de la Terre d'Orient', in RHC Doc. Arm. II., Ch. 23, 247.

19 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1871–2), I:19 (text); *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm: A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, trans. B. Dodge, 2 vols. (New York, 1970), Ch. 1, I:36 (trans.); J. van Ginkel and J. van Der Vliet, 'A Syriac Alphabet from Qasr Ibrim', in *Nubian Voices II: New Texts and Studies on Christian Nubian Culture*, eds. A. Łajtar, G. Ochała, and J. van der Vliet (Warsaw, 2015), pp. 45–52. On surviving Nubian textual languages, see Ochała, 'Multilingualism', pp. 26–7.

20 Taddesse Tamrat, *Church and State*, 89; A. Bausi and A. Desreumaux, 'Une «ṭablīṭō» syriaque orthodoxe en Érythrée datée de 1295/1296: un témoin des «métropolites syriens»?', *Aethiopica*, 24 (2021), pp. 233–44.

21 A. M. Butts, 'Ethiopic Christianity, Syriac Contacts with', in *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*, eds. S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. van Rompay (Piscataway, 2011), pp. 148–53.

22 On Thomas, see Cerulli, *Etiopi in Palestina*, pp. I:62–76; Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, pp. 349–51. On Mūše of Mardin and Täsfa Ṣəyon, see J. Leroy, 'Une copie syriaque de Missale Romanum de Paul III et so arrière-plan historique', *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, 46 (1970/1), pp. 353–82.

23 A. Palmer, 'The History of the Syrian Orthodox in Jerusalem [Part I]', *Oriens Christianus*, 75 (1991), pp. 16–43; A. Palmer, 'The History of the Syrian Orthodox in Jerusalem, Part II: Queen Melisende and the Jacobite Estates', *Oriens Christianus*, 76 (1992), pp. 74–94.

24 B. Hamilton, 'Three patriarchs at Antioch, 1165–1170', in *Dei gesta per francos: Études sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard*, eds. M. Balard, B. Kedar, and J. Riley-Smith (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 199–207; MacEvitt, *Crusades and the Christian World*, pp. 167–9. On wider relations, see Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, pp. 188–211; B. Hamilton, 'The Latin Church in the Crusader States', in *East and West I*, eds. Ciggaar, Davids, and Teule, pp. 1–20; B. Hamilton, 'Aimery of Limoges, Latin Patriarch of Antioch (c. 1142-c. 1196) and the Unity of the Churches', in *East and West II*, eds. Ciggaar and Teule, pp. 1–12.

25 *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, ed. Chabot, pp. Book VII Ch. 3, IV:131–2, Book X Ch. 18, IV:371–2, Book XII Ch. 19, IV:330–4 (text); *Syriac Chronicle of Michael Rabo*, trans. Moosa, pp. 160–1, 415, 567–9 (trans.).

26 J.-C. Ducene, 'La géographie chez les auteurs syriaques: entre hellénisme et Moyen Âge arabe', in *Migrations de langues et d'idées en Asie: Actes du colloque international organisé par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, la Société asiatique et l'INALCO*, eds. J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont, P.-S. Filliozat, and M. Zink (Paris, 2015), pp. 21–36.

27 Though the writer confused Ptolemy for the king of Egypt: *Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor*, trans. Greatrex et al., Book XII Ch. 7, pp. 431–46. On later uses by writers, see pp. 57–60. On Syriac sources, see W. Witakowski, 'Syriac Historiographical Sources', in *Byzantines and Crusaders in Non-Greek Sources, 1025–1204*, ed. M. Whitby (Oxford, 2008), pp. 253–82.

28 Hamilton, 'Crusades and North-East Africa', 172. The historic contacts between Copts and Syrians are important to emphasise for supporting Michael's ability to inform Amalric of the current affairs of the Coptic Church and its affiliates: J.-M. Fiey, 'Coptes et Syriaques, contacts et échanges', *Studia Orientalia Christiana, Collectanea*, 15 (1972–3), pp. 297–365.

29 For a detailed discussion of Michael and knowledge production, see D. Weltecke, *The "Description of the Times" by Mōr Michael the Great (1126–1199: A Study on Its Historical and its Historiographical Context* (Leuven, 2021).

30 See B. Z. Kedar, 'Intellectual Activities in a Holy City: Jerusalem in the Twelfth Century', in *Sacred Space: Shrine, City, Land: Proceedings of the International Conference in Memory of Joshua Prawer*, eds. B. Z. Kedar and R. J. Zwi Werblowsky (Basingstoke, 1998), pp. 127–39.

31 RRH, no.500, pp. 131–2.

32 J. Rubin, *Learning in a Crusader City: Intellectual Activity and Intercultural Exchange in Acre, 1191–1291* (Cambridge, 2018), pp. 139–67.

33 Seignobos, 'L'autre Ethiopie', pp. 53–5.

34 Raymond de Marseille, *Opera Omnia*, eds. D'Alverny, Burnett, and Poulle, 198.

35 H. von Mžik, *Afrika nach der arabischen Bearbeitung der Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις des Claudius Ptolemaeus von Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Ḫwārizmī* (Vienna, 1916), pp. 2–5.

36 Ristoro d'Arezzo, 'La composizione del mondo', in MCAA 4.1, pp. 1065–6 (text and trans.).

37 J. Chabás and B. R. Goldstein, *A Survey of European Astronomical Tables in the Late Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2012), pp. 201–4.

38 Chabás and Goldstein, *Survey of European Astronomical Tables*, 201.

39 An edition of the text of al-Zuhrī was published in M. Hadj-Sadok, 'Kitāb al-Dja'rāfiyya: Mappemonde du calife al-Ma'mūn reproduite par Fazārī (IIIe/IXe s.)

rééditée et commentée par Zuhrī (VIe/XIIe s.)', *Bulletin d'Études Orientales*, 21 (1968), pp. 8–311; a study and Spanish translation of the Castilian text was conducted by D. Bramon, *El mundo en el siglo XII: Estudio de la versión castellana y del "Original" Árabe de una geografía universal: "El Tratado de al-Zuhrī"* (Barcelona, 1991).

40 J. Denbow, C. Klehm, and L. Dussubieux, 'The Glass Beads of Kaitshàa and Early Indian Ocean Trade into the Far Interior of Southern Africa', *Antiquity*, 89 (2015), pp. 361–77, esp. 362–3.

41 For example, see the accounts of Buzurg ibn Šahriyār, al-Masʿūdī, and al-Idrīsī in G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, The *East African Coast: Select Documents from the First to the Earlier Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 9–13; 14–17; 19–20.

42 For example, both Neilos Doxapatrios and al-Idrīsī were active in Roger's court, whilst al-Idrīsī was equally active in the following court of William I (r. 1154–66), Roger's son, too. For the minimum information that these writers knew regarding Africa, see Neilos Doxapatrios, 'Τῶν Πατριαρχικων Φρονων', in PG 132, col.1089; *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne par Edrīsī*, eds. and trans. R. Dozy and M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1866).

43 D. Abulafia, 'The End of Muslim Sicily', in *Muslims under Latin Rule, 1100–1300*, ed. J. M. Powell (Princeton, 1990), 122. However, Roger was widely known to have had a keen interest in attaining knowledge and al-Idrīsī was said by his contemporaries to have enjoyed great favour with the king, which makes such limited external influence surprising: H. Houben, *Roger II of Sicily: A Ruler between East and West*, trans. G. A. Loud and D. Milburn (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 102–6.

44 T. Lewicki, 'Marino Sanudos Mappa mundi (1321) und die runde Weltkarte von Idrīsī (1154)', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 38 (1976), pp. 188–90.

45 Lewicki, 'Marino Sanudos', pp. 185–6.

46 For example, see C. Rouxpetel, '«Indiens, Éthiopiens et Nubiens» dans les récits de pèlerinage occidentaux: entre altérité constatée et altérité construite (XIIe-XIVe siècles)', *Annales d'Éthiopie*, 27 (2012), pp. 71–90; C. Rouxpetel, *L'Occident au miroir de l'Orient chrétien: Cilicie, Syrie, Palestine et Égypte (XIIᵉ–XIVᵉ siècle)* (Rome, 2015), pp. 104–6, 115–36. However, Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken supplied two distinct discussions of each group in her study of Latin Christian discussions of eastern groups in the Holy Land during the Crusading period: von den Brincken, *Nationes*, pp. 243–86.

47 Burchard's text is recorded in Arnoldi, 'Chronica Slavorum', in MGH SS XXI, Book VII Ch. 8, pp. 237–8 (text); *The Chronicle of Arnold of Lübeck*, trans. G. A. Loud (Abingdon, 2019), pp. 275–7 (trans.); Abū al-Makārim, *Tarīkh al-kanāʾis wa-l-adyura*, ed. S. al-Suryānī, 4 vols. (Cairo, 1984), I:24 (text); U. Zanetti, 'Matarieh, la Sainte Famille et les Baumiers', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 111 (1993), 36 (trans.). On dating al-Makārim's text, see J. den Heijer, 'Coptic Historiography in the Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid and Early Mamlūk Periods', *Medieval Encounters*, 2.1 (1996), 78.

48 *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, ed. Chabot, Book XVI Ch. 2, IV:608 (text). ܟܘܫܝܐ could mean Indians, but both Jean-Baptiste Chabot and Matti Moosa have translated this as Abyssinians/Ethiopians here: *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, ed. Chabot, III:226 (trans.); *Syriac Chronicle of Michael Rabo*, trans. Moosa, 645 (trans.).

49 Theodoric, 'Libellus de Locis Sanctis', in *Peregrinationes Tres. Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodoricus*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Turnhout, 1994), Ch. 8, 152 (text); 'Theoderic', in Wilkinson, Hill, and Ryan, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, 282 (trans.).

50 Cerulli, *Etiopi in Palestina*, pp. I:78–9.

51 Cerulli, *Etiopi in Palestina*, I:58.

52 Johann Laurent wrongly corrected *Jabeni* to *Jacobini* in his edition of Burchard (hence Pringle's translation), but the text should, as noted by Enrico Cerulli

(*Etiopi in Palestina*, I:81), be read as *Jabeni*: Burchard of Mount Sion, 'Descriptio Terrae Sanctae', in *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor: Burchardus de Monte Sion, Ricoldus de Monte Crucis, Odoricus de Foro Julii, Wibrandus de Oldenborg: Quorum duos nunc primum edidit, duos ad fidem librorum manuscriptorum*, ed. J. C. M. Laurent (Leipzig, 1873), Book XIII Ch. 5, 89 (text); *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, trans. Pringle, 315 (trans.).

53 Cerulli, *Etiopi in Palestina*, pp. I:88–90; S. Munro-Hay, *Ethiopia and Alexandria: The Metropolitan Episcopacy of Ethiopia* (Warsaw, 1997), pp. 195–9.

54 Of the Ethiopian manuscripts in Jerusalem catalogued by Ephraim Isaac, only one may date to the fourteenth century but was listed as dating between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: E. Isaac, 'Shelf List of Ethiopian Manuscripts in the Monasteries of the Ethiopian Patriarchate of Jerusalem', RSE, 30 (1984–6), 67. There is no known other evidence, such as processional crosses, which predate the fourteenth century and attest to having a certain Jerusalem provenance.

55 A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed., Αναλεκτα ιεροσολυμιτικης σταχυολογιας, 5 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1891–8), II:409; S. Lusignano, *Chorograffia et breve historia universale dell'isola de Cipro principiando al tempo di Noè per in sino al 1572* (Bologna, 1573), pp. 34a, 46a; van Donzel, 'Were There Ethiopians'.

56 Fratris Pauli Waltheri Guglingensis, *Itinerarium in Terram Sanctam et ad Sanctam Catharinam*, ed. M. Sollweck (Tübingen, 1892), 146. Hans Schiltberger, who wrote between the years 1394 and 1427, did describe witnessing participants from the 'land of Prester John', though without giving a specific land to directly connect these to either African group: Hans Schiltberger, *Reisebuch*, ed. V. Langmantel (Tübingen, 1885), Ch. 40, 73. It is difficult to say for certain, however, that either Nubians or Ethiopians would have participated in the ceremony at an earlier date in any case as certain Eastern Christians were known to show displeasure at the ceremony. For example, such as the Armenian Matthew of Edessa: Matthieu d'Édesse, 'Extraits de la chronique II', in RHC Doc. Arm. I, Chs. 25–6, pp. 61–8 (text); *Armenia and the Crusades*, trans. Dostourian, Part III Chs. 8–12, pp. 187–91 (trans.).

57 Sergew Hable Sellassie, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History*, 261.

58 *Il Gadla Yemreḥanna Krestos*, ed. and trans. P. Marrassini (Napoli, 1995), pp. 54–6 (text), 87–9 (trans.).

59 M.-L. Derat, 'The Zāgwē Dynasty (11–13th Centuries) and King Yemreḥanna Krestos', *Annales d'Éthiopie*, 25 (2010), pp. 174–81.

60 Derat, 'The Zāgwē Dynasty', pp. 176–7.

61 P. Jacob, 'Etude analytique de l'inscription éthiopienne dans l'ermitage de Mar Assia (Mont-Liban, vallée de la Qadisha)', *Spéléorient*, 1 (1996), pp. 35–8; R. J. Mouawad, 'The Ethiopian Monks in Mount-Lebanon (XVth Century)', *Liban Souterrain*, 5 (1998), pp. 186–207.

62 E. C. Dodd, *The Frescoes of Mar Musa al-Habashi: A Study in Medieval Painting in Syria* (Toronto, 2001), pp. 19–22.

63 Paula and Eustochium, Letter XLVI to Marcella, in Hieronymus, *Epistularum Pars I. Epistulae I-LXX*, ed. I. Hilberg (Vienna, 1910), 340; St. Jerome, Letter CVII to Laeta, in Hieronymus, *Epistularum Pars II. Epistulae LXXI-CXX*, ed. I. Hilberg (Vienna, 1912), 292.

64 Antonini Placentini, 'Itinerarium', in *Itinera Hierosolymitana saeculi VI-VIII*, ed. P. Geyer (Vienna, 1898), 182 (text); J. Wilkinson, trans., *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster, 1977), 87 (trans.).

65 Hygeburg, 'Vita Willibaldi Episcopi Eichstetensis', in MGH SS XV.i, pp. 100–1; 'Hugeburc, Life of St. Willibald. Extracts', in Wilkinson, trans., *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, 132.

66 For example, see R. Barkay, 'An Axumite Coin from Jerusalem', *Israel Numismatic Journal*, 5 (1981), pp. 57–9. There are also stylistic links with

Jerusalem on the coins: W. Hahn, 'Touto arese te chora – St. Cyril's Holy Cross Cult in Jerusalem and Aksumite Coin Typology', *Israel Numismatic Journal*, 13 (1999), pp. 103–17. Stuart Munro-Hay asserts that given the relatively few bronze and silver ʾAksumite coins found outside of Ethiopia, gold coins were primarily for external use: S. Munro-Hay, *Aksum: An African Civilisation of Late Antiquity* (Edinburgh, 1991), 184. However, the coin discussed by Barkay is bronze (also another bronze coin has been found at Caesarea), which, if Munro-Hay's assessment is to be followed, the finding of such bronze coins would suggest that their owners were not primarily there for trade. In turn, they could be scant evidence for the presence of early pilgrims accompanied by their few goods and not traders concerned with the international markets.

67 G. Hatke, 'Holy Land and Sacred History: A View from Early Ethiopia', in *Visions of Community in the Post-Roman World: The West, Byzantium and the Islamic World, 300–1000*, eds. W. Pohl, C. Gantner, and R. Payne (Farnham, 2012), pp. 271–4.

68 C. Conti Rossini, 'Aethiopica', *Rivista degli studi orientali*, 9.3–4 (1922–3), pp. 461–2.

69 A. Obłuski, *The Monasteries and Monks of Nubia*, trans. D. Dzierzbicka (Warsaw, 2019), pp. 18–19, 132, 183.

70 J. Wilkinson, with J. Hill and W. F. Ryan, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099–1185* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 78–84.

71 A. Schall, 'Ein äthiopischer Transkriptionstext in einer lateinischen Handschrift des 12. Jahrhunderts – Jerusalem als Mittler?', in *International Conference of Ethiopian Studies: Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference, Tel-Aviv, 14–17 April 1980*, ed. G. Goldberg (Rotterdam, 1986), pp. 467–70.

72 Säyfä ʾArʿad (r.1344–72) sent an illuminated book of the Four Gospels to the community in Dayr al-Muharraq: H. Zotenberg, *Manuscrits orientaux: Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens (gheez et amharique) de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris, 1877), 26. Yagbeʾä Səyon (r.1285–94) sent a gift of red silk and a hundred candles and ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon (r.1314–44) sent a copy of the *Book of Kings* to the community in Jerusalem: Cerulli, *Etiopi in Palestina*, pp. I:88–90; Grébaut and Tisserant, *Codices Aethiopici*, pp. 782–7.

73 Zotenberg, *Manuscrits orientaux*, pp. 56–7.

74 On the churches, see M.-L. Derat, *L'énigme d'une dynastie sainte*, pp. 163–90.

75 Derat, *L'énigme d'une dynastie sainte*, pp. 182–90.

76 Derat, *L'énigme d'une dynastie sainte* pp. 185–6.

77 *Temporibus meis Nubiani nondum habuerunt locum, quibus Soldanus fecit fieri capellam specialem*: *Ludolphi rectoris ecclesiae parochialis in Suchem, de itinere terre sanctae liber*, ed. F. Deycks (Tübingen, 1851), Ch. 37, 72 (text);); *Ludolph von Suchem's Description of the Holy Land, and the Way Thither: Written in the Year A.D. 1350*, trans. A. Stewart (London, 1895), 95 (trans.).

78 S. De Sandoli, *The Peaceful Liberation of the Holy Places in the XIV Century* (Cairo, 1990), pp. 54–5.

79 *Liber Peregrinationis*, ed. Monneret de Villard, Ch. 2, 32.

80 Cerulli, *Etiopi in Palestina*, I:220; *Liber Peregrinationis*, ed. Monneret de Villard, Ch. 3, 39; Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'oltramare*, ed. A. Bacchi della Lega, 2 vols. (Bologna, 1968), Ch. 32, pp. I:94–5 (text); Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *A Voyage Beyond the Seas (1346–1350)*, trans. T. Bellorini and E. Hoade (Jerusalem, 1945), 22 (trans.). Men from *Etiopia* are later explicitly stated as worshipping in the chapel on Mount Calvary: Ch. 40, pp. I:116–17; *Ludolphi rectoris*, ed. Deycks, Ch. 38, 78 (text); *Description*, trans. Stewart, 103 (trans.); *The Three Kings of Cologne: An Early English Translation of the "Historia Trium Regum" by John of Hildesheim*, ed. C. Horstmann (London, 1886), Ch. 36, 263.

81 *Guide-Book to Palestine (circ. A.D. 1350)*, trans. J. H. Bernard (London, 1894), Ch. 43, 9.

82 H. Kugler, S. Glauch, and A. Willing, *Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 2007), I:54.

83 Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, 'Chronica', ed. P. Scheffer-Boichorst, in MGH SS XXIII, 935; Burchard of Mount Sion, 'Descriptio Terrae Sanctae', in *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor*, ed. Laurent, pp. Prologus, 20, Book XIII Ch. 5, 89 (text); *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, trans. Pringle, pp. 242, 315 (trans.).

84 On Crusader State-Alexandrian exchange, see D. Jacoby, 'Acre-Alexandria: A Major Commercial Axis of the Thirteenth Century', in *"Come l'orco della fiaba": Studi per Franco Cardini*, ed. M. Montesano (Florence, 2010), pp. 151–67; N. Christie, 'Cosmopolitan Trade Centre or Bone of Contention? Alexandria and the Crusades, 487–857/1095–1454', *Al-Masāq*, 26.1 (2014), pp. 49–61.

85 *Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. and trans. Adler, Alexandria, וק (text), 76 (trans.); *Guillaume de Tyr et ses continuateurs: texte français du XIIIe siècle*, ed. P. Paris, 2 vols. (Paris, 1879–80), pp. II:298–9; Ambrosius Zeebout, *Tvoyage van Mher Joos van Ghistele*, ed. R. J. G. A. A. Gaspar (Hilversum, 1998), Book III Ch. 34, 214; O. Raineri, 'I doni della Serenissima al re Davide I d'Etiopia (ms Raineri 43 della Vaticana)', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 65 (1999), pp. 368, 390–1.

86 A. Tsakos, 'On Place Names Used by Nubians for Places Outside Nubia (Notes on Medieval Nubian Toponymy 2)', *Dotawo*, 4 (2017), pp. 232–6.

87 Bishop Martyros, 'Multi-Cultured Monks in Wadi al-Natrun', in *Actes du huitième congrès internationale d'Études coptes: Paris, 28 juin – 3 juillet 2004*, eds. N. Bosson and A. Boud'hors, 2 vols. (Leuven, 2007); pp. I:118–19; B. al-Suriany, 'Identification of the Monastery of the Nubians in Wadi al-Natrun', in *Christianity and Monasticism in Aswan and Nubia*, eds. G. Gabra and H. N. Takla (Cairo, 2013), pp. 257–64; H. G. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of the Wādi ʿl Natrūn*, 3 vols. (New York, 1972), pp. II:366, 368.

88 HPEC II.III, pp. 327–8.

89 For example, a Nubian community was recorded between Cairo and Babylon in the middle of the fourteenth century: Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'oltramare*, ed. Bacchi della Lega, Ch. 187, II:82 (text); Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Voyage*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 94 (trans.).

90 Oliver of Paderborn, 'Historia Damiatini', ed. Hoogeweg, Ch. 59, 262 (text); Oliver of Paderborn, *Capture of Damietta*, trans. Gavigan, 117 (trans.).

91 G. R. Ruffini, 'Monetization Across the Nubian Border: A Hypothetical Model', in *The Archaeology of Medieval Islamic Frontiers: From the Mediterranean to the Caspian Sea*, ed. A. Asa Eger (Louisville, 2019), pp. 105–18, esp. 109–10.

92 London, British Museum, Or. MS 6805 (a manuscript of the Miracle of St. Menas from Edfu which may date to as late as the twelfth century, with an accompanying text of the (Pseudo-)Nicene Canons written in a different hand); DBMNT 1148 (an ostrakon from Qena containing Old Nubian words with Coptic translations, possibly dating as late as the eleventh century).

93 V. J. W. van Gerven Oei, 'The Old Nubian Memorial for King George', in *Nubian Voices*, eds. Łajtar and van der Vliet, 226.

94 See A. Simmons, 'Red Sea Entanglement: Initial Latin European Intellectual Development Regarding Nubia and Ethiopia during the Twelfth Century', *Entangled Religions*, 11.5 (2020), DOI: 10.46586/er.11.2020.8826.

95 On Mubāraka, see F. Bauden, 'L'achat d'esclaves et la rédemption des captifs a Alexandrie d'apres deux documents arabes d'époque mamelouke conserves aux Archives de l'État a Venise (ASVe).' in *Regards croises sur le Moyen Age: Melanges a la memoire de Louis Pouzet S.J. (1928–2002)*, eds. A.-M. Eddé and E. Gannagé (Beirut, 2005), pp. 271–304. A warrant for an escaped 'Ethiopian' 'Saracen' slave named Bartholomew, for instance, was recorded in 1259 in England: *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry III: Volume 5, 1258–1266*, ed. H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London, 1910), 28.

96 Gomes Eanes de Zurara, *Crónica dos feitos notáveis que se passaram na conquista de Guiné por mandado do infante D. Henrique*, ed. T. de Sousa Soares, 2 vols. (Lisbon, 1978–81), Ch. 24, I:106 (text); Gomez Eannes de Azurara, *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea*, trans. C. R. Beazley and E. Prestage, 2 vols. (London, 1896–9), I:80 (trans.).

97 Nevertheless, examples of slaves as sources of knowledge within the ancient Greek and early modern Atlantic contexts has produced increasing discussion of this phenomenon, which is likely to be replicable here. For instance, see K. S. Murphy, 'Translating the Vernacular: Indigenous and African Knowledge in the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic', *Atlantic Studies*, 8.1 (2011), pp. 29–48; D. Brixius, 'From Ethnobotany to Emancipation: Slaves, Plant Knowledge, and Gardens on Eighteenth-Century Isle de France', *History of Science*, 58.1 (2020), pp. 51–75; T. Harrison, 'Classical Greek Ethnography and the Slave Trade', *Classical Antiquity*, 38.1 (2019), pp. 52–3.

98 Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, 'Chronica', ed. P. Scheffer-Boichorst, in MGH SS XXIII, 886.

99 'Annales Colmariensis Maiores', ed. P. Jaffé, in MGH SS XVII, 209.

100 For many examples, see Bindman and Gates, eds., *Image of the Black in Western Art*, vol. II.

101 H. E. Mayer and J. Richard, *Die Urkunden der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, 4 vols. (Hannover, 2010), no.652, III:1075, no.654, III:1092, no.657, III:1099. See also his appearance in a letter dated to 1243: no.697, III:1200. 'Nubie' also appears as 'Nubre', though no clearer explanation can be gained by this other name either.

102 RRH, no. 378, 99.

103 Its most common variations were Betenoble, Bet(t)enuble, Betenopolis, Bethnoble, Betinubilum, or Nobe: D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A corpus*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1993–2009), no. 34, pp. I:102–3.

104 The first of these people appears in the record simply as R. Niger as a witness in 1145 who may or may not be the same as the Robertus Niger who bore witness to two letters in 1170s. Interestingly, Robertus appears alongside a certain Nicolaus Manzur, further highlighting the pluralistic make-up of the court retinue who took Latinised names (Reinhard Röhricht did index both R. and Robertus as the same person: RRH, pp. 59–60, 132–3, 148). In addition, two different William Nigers (Guillelmus and Willelmus) appear as witnesses to letters in 1147 and 1154 and 1204, respectively (RRH, pp. 62, 72, 213–14). The most commonly recurring men are the brothers, Adam and Fulco Niger. They appear no less than nine times together between c.1151 and 1171 (RRH, pp. 69, 79, 86, 96, 97, 103–4, 128; supplementum, pp. 23–4). Fulco appears a further two times in 1159 and 1167 as a witness without his brother (RRH, pp. 88, 113). One of the letters, dated 1163, even notes the selling of land to the Hospitallers in Jerusalem by Adam, his wife Osmunda, their two sons, Bertinus and Robertus, and their daughter, Maholdis, and included Fulco amongst the witnesses (RRH, pp. 103–4). It is clear that both Adam and Fulco, in particular, held notable positions within mid-twelfth-century Crusader society.

105 The term 'Mediterranean African Society' was used by Giovanni Ruffini as the premise of his book *Medieval Nubia*. For references to these Nubian populations, see Simmons, 'A Note'.

106 Robert of Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. and trans. J. Dufournet (Paris, 2004), Ch. 54, 130 (text); Robert of Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople Translated From the Old French of Robert of Clari*, trans. E. H. McNeal (New York, 1969), pp. 79–80 (trans.).

107 The plausible identification of the figure as Moüses Georgios has already previously been made by Giovanni Ruffini: Ruffini, *Medieval Nubia*, 251. An

unspecified Nubian identification had previously been made by Bożena Rostkowska and Gianfranco Fiaccadori: Rostkowska, 'Visit of a Nubian King'; G. Fiaccadori, 'Un re di Nubia a Constantinopoli nel 1203', *Scrinium*, 1.1 (2005), pp. 43–9.

108 B. Hendrickx, 'Un roi Africain à Constantinople en 1203', *Byzantina*, 13.2 (1985), pp. 896–7. For some recent examples, all of which rely on Hendrickx, see F. van Tricht, *The Latin Renovatio of Byzantium: The Empire of Constantinople (1204–1228)* (Leiden, 2011), 130n111 (possibly Lalibäla); A. Kaldellis, *Ethnography After Antiquity* (Philadelphia, 2013), 35 (possibly Lalibäla, though identified as a Nubian prince); R. Betancourt, *Byzantine Intersectionality: Sexuality, Gender, and Race in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2020), 174 (Lalibäla or an unknown Nubian ruler).

109 On these events, see N. N. Ambraseys and C. P. Melville, 'An Analysis of the Eastern Mediterranean Earthquake of 20 May 1202', in *Historical Seismograms and Earthquakes of the World*, eds. W. H. K. Lee, H. Meyers, and K. Shimazaki (San Diego, 1988), pp. 181–200; M. R. Sbeinati, R. Darawcheh and M. Mouty, 'The Historical Earthquakes of Syria: An Analysis of Large and Moderate Earthquakes from 1365 B.C. to 1900 A.D.', *Annals of Geophysics* 48.3 (2005), pp. 389–91; F. A. Hassan, 'Extreme Nile Floods and Famines in Medieval Egypt (AD 930–1500) and their Climatic Implications', *Quaternary International*, 173–4 (2007), pp. 103–5; Y. Lev, 'Famines in Medieval Egypt: Natural and Man-Made', *Leidschrift: Verraderlijke rijkdom. Economische crisis als historisch fenomeen*, 28 (2013), pp. 61–3.

110 *Eustathii Thessalonicensis Opera Minora*, ed. P. Wirth (Berlin, 2000), pp. 263–4 (text).

111 'Vita et miracula Eustathii', ed. Turaiev, pp. III:f.45–6 (text); *Saints fondateurs*, trans. Colin with Robin and Derat, pp. 151–2 (trans.); *Acta Marqorēwos*, ed. and Latin trans. C. Conti Rossini, Versio and Textus (Leuven, 1904), pp. Textus: 31 (text), Versio: 43 (Latin trans.); 'Vita et miracula Eustathii', *Monumenta Aethiopiae Hagiologica*, ed. Turaiev, pp. III:f.54–58 (text); *Saints fondateurs*, trans. Colin with Robin and Derat, pp. 211–5 (trans.); Philippe de Mézières, *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas*, ed. J. Smet (Rome, 1954), Book I Ch. 3, pp. 99–100; T. Borowski, 'In the Midst of Enemies?: Material Evidence for the Existence of Maritime Cultural Networks Connecting Fourteenth-Century Famagusta with Overseas Regions in Europe, Africa and Asia', in *Famagusta Maritima: Mariners, Merchants, Pilgrims and Mercenaries*, ed. M. J. K. Walsh (Leiden, 2019), pp. 103–6.

112 Francesco Maria Torrigio, *Le sacre Grotte vaticane* (Rome, 1635), 125. On the church, see: D. V. Proverbio, 'Santo Stefano degli Abissini. Una breve rivisitazione', *La parola del passato: Rivista di studi antichi*, 66 (2011), pp. 50–68.

113 K. Brewer, *Prester John: The Legend and Its Sources* (Farnham, 2015), pp. 93 (text), 96 (trans.). In relation to the 1177 letter, Bernard Hamilton has posited that the letter was in response to the 'letter' of Prester John circling in Latin Europe, whilst also casting doubts on Alexander's seriousness: B. Hamilton, 'Prester John and the Three Kings of Cologne', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. H. C. Davis*, eds. H. Mayr-Harting and R. I. Moore (London, 1985), pp. 188–90; Hamilton, 'Lands of Prester John', 133.

114 Ochała, 'Multilingualism'; H. M. Attiya, 'Knowledge of Arabic in the Crusader States in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *JMH*, 25.3 (1999), pp. 203–13. Arabic inscriptions are attested in Ethiopia from at least the tenth century, though the role of Arabic in the Christian community is not overly understood. However, the use of toponyms such as *Bandəqya* (Venice), a clear understanding of the Arabic *Bunduqya*, and the apparent similar development of the ethnonym *färäng* to refer to all Latin Europeans, such as the later Portuguese, which similarly developed in Arabic from a localised ethnonym to refer to the French to a continental toponym during the previous centuries, would appear to equally

attest to an intimate Ethiopian knowledge of Arabic: Raineri, 'I doni della Serenissima', pp. 364, 391–3; D. G. König, *Arabic-Islamic Views of the Latin West: Tracing the emergence of Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 208, 211–21.

115 See C. Aslanov, 'Languages in Contact in the Latin East: Acre and Cyprus', *Crusades*, 1 (2002), pp. 155–81. The same can also be evidenced in the reverse: C. Aslanov, *Evidence of Francophony in Mediaeval Levant: Decipherment and Interpretation, MS BnF 43* (Jerusalem, 2006).

116 For example, K. A. Tuley, 'Multilingualism and Power in the Latin East', in *Multilingualism in the Middles Ages and Early Modern Age: Communication and Miscommunication in the Premodern World*, ed. A. Classen (Berlin, 2016), pp. 177–206.

117 The Qasr Ibrim Archive at the British Museum, P.QI inv. 74.1.29/7A; Ruffini, *Medieval Nubia*, pp. 262–3.

118 On Italians in Egypt during this time, see D. Jacoby, 'Les Italiens en Égypte aux XIIᵉ et XIIIᵉ siècles: du comptoir à la colonie?', in *Coloniser au Moyen Âge*, eds. M. Balard and A. Ducellier (Paris, 1995), pp. 76–89.

119 J. D. Bonvillian, V. L. Ingram, and B. M. McCleary, 'Observations on the Use of Manual Signs and Gestures in the Communicative Interactions between Native Americans and Spanish Explorers of North America: The Accounts of Bernal Díaz del Castillo and Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca', *Sign Language Studies*, 9.2 (2009), pp. 132–65; M. Tymowski, *Europeans and Africans: Mutual Discoveries and First Encounters* (Leiden, 2020), pp. 63–83.

120 L. Bragg, 'Visual-Kinetic Communication in Europe Before 1600: A Survey of Sign Lexicons and Finger Alphabets Prior to the Rise of Deaf Education', *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education*, 2.1 (1997), pp. 1–25.

121 N. Jorga, 'Cenni sulle relazioni tra l'Abissinia e l'Europa cattolica nel secoli XIV–XV, con un iterario inedito del Secolo XV', in *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari*, vol. 1 (Palermo, 1910), pp. 139–50 (text); O. G. S. Crawford, ed., *The Ethiopian Itineraries Circa 1400–1524 Including Those Collected by Alessandro Zorzi at Venice in the Years 1519–1524* (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 28–39 (trans.). For context, see F.-C. Muth, 'Eine arabisch-äthiopische Wort- und Satzliste aus Jerusalem vom 15. Jahrhundert', *Afriques*, 1 (2010), https://journals.openedition.org/afriques/535

122 *Itinerarium*, ed. and trans. Esposito, Ch. 79, pp. 96–9.

123 Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'oltramare*, ed. Bacchi della Lega, Ch. 36, pp. I:107–8 (text); Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Voyage*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 25 (trans.).

124 *Acta capitulorum generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, ed. B. M. Reichert, vol. 1 (Rome, 1898), 9. The systematic study of Gəʿəz largely began with Johannes Potken and Thomas Wäldä Samu'el's *Psalterium Aethiopicum* (Rome, 1513).

125 Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam: Eine Pilgerreise ins Heilige Land. Frühneuhochdeutscher Text und Übersetzung*, ed. and trans. I. Mozer (Berlin, 2010), fig. 20; *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff von Cöln durch Italien, Syrien, Aegypten, Arabien, Aethiopien, Nubien, Palästina, due Türkei, Frankreich und Spanien, wie er sie in den Jahren 1496 bis 1499*, ed. E. von Groote (Cologne, 1860), 152.

126 Robert of Clari, *La Conquête*, ed. and trans. Dufournet, Ch. 54, 130 (text); Robert of Clari, *Conquest*, trans. McNeal, pp. 79–80 (trans.).

127 Such as the case of Apa Dioscorus noted above. See examples in Obłuski, *Monasteries and Monks*.

128 RRH, pp. 103–4.

129 Kelly, 'Medieval Ethiopian Diasporas', in *A Companion*, ed. Kelly, pp. 432–3.

130 Ludolph von Sudheim, 'De itinere Terre Sancte', Descriptio Terrae Sanctae, Pars I Ch. 7, ed. G. A. Neumann, in AOrLat, II: pp. 352–3.

131 *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century: The Rothelin Continuation of the History of William of Tyre with Part of the Eracles or Acre Text*, trans. J. Shirley (Aldershot, 1999), 64n2.

132 For the use of literary texts as Crusade propaganda and, by extension, continual memory more generally, see S. Vander Elst, *The Knight, the Cross, and the Song: Crusade Propaganda and Chivalric Literature, 1100–1400* (Philadelphia, 2017). Equally, Crusade lyric was manufactured for a variety of reasons, which, for our purposes, all served to propagate sustained interest in Godfrey and Baldwin, even if only as a by-product of their inclusion in such works; for just one set of examples for the relationship between song and Crusade, see M. Galvez, *The Subject of Crusade: Lyric, Romance, and Materials, 1150 to 1500* (Chicago, 2020).

133 Matthew 3:11: 'I baptise you with water for repentance, but he who is coming after me is mightier than I, whose sandals I am not worthy to carry. He will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and fire'. On Nubian scarification, see Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Orientalis*, ed. and trans. Donnadieu, Ch. 76, pp. 308–9 (text and trans.); Robert of Clari, *La Conquête*, ed. and trans. Dufournet, Ch. 54, 130 (text); Robert of Clari, *Conquest*, trans. McNeal, pp. 79–80 (trans.); Oliver of Paderborn, 'Historia Damiatini', ed. Hoogeweg, Ch. 62, 264 (text); Oliver of Paderborn, *Capture of Damietta*, trans. Gavigan, 119 (trans.); Benoit d'Alignan, 'Tractatus super erroribus quos citra et ultra mare invenimus', Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS Lat. 4224, f.399v; *Itinerarium*, ed. and trans. Esposito, Chs. 71–2, pp. 90–3. On Ethiopian scarification, see Koppitz, 'Magistri Thietmari Peregrenatio', Ch. 49, 170 (text); Thietmar, 'Pilgrimage (1217–18)', in *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, trans. Pringle, 130 (trans.); Marco Polo, *Description*, eds. and trans. Moule and Pelliot, Ch. 193, 435; 'Letter from Niccolò di Gagliano to Corrado Bojani, dated 5th August 1404', in V. Lazzarini, 'Un'ambasciata etiopica in Italia nel 1404', *Atti del Reale Instituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, 83, 1923–4 (1924), 842. Similarly, Leonardo Frescobaldi lists the varying scarification practices of Eastern Christians in the latter half of the fourteenth century, including Nubians and Ethiopians, though he does not specifically identify which practice belongs to which group: Leonardo Frescobaldi, 'Viaggio in Terrasanta', in *Pellegrini Scrittori*, eds. Lanza and Troncarelli, Ch. 77, pp. 182–3.

134 Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'oltramare*, ed. Bacchi della Lega, Ch. 35, pp. I:103–4 (text); Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Voyage*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 24 (trans.).

135 Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'oltramare*, ed. Bacchi della Lega, Ch. 187, II:82 (text); Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Voyage*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 94 (trans.).

4   Competing Nubian and Ethiopian Prester Johns

Between the twelfth and seventeenth centuries, Latin Christians became fixated on locating a mythical distant king who they believed was called Prester John. He was said to reside somewhere in the 'East' and would aid in the Latin Christian fight against the Muslims of the Holy Land. The name of *Presbyter Iohannes*, initially described as a Nestorian and 'king of kings' of 72 lesser kings, first appeared in Otto of Freising's *De Duabus Civitatibus* (1157) in relation to a letter supposedly sent to the Byzantine emperor in 1145.[1] Versions of the prester's legendary letter circulated throughout the medieval Mediterranean and survive in at least 469 manuscripts in 20 languages, truly displaying the cultural and political phenomenon that he became.[2] The prester's association with Ethiopia has long been established in scholarship. Yet, his location in Ethiopia is not the whole history of the African Prester, especially in the myth's earlier incarnations, with the prester's prior association with Nubia being largely evaded by historians.[3] During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, two parallel myths developed regarding the location of Prester John, the first regarding Nubia and the other regarding Ethiopia, which, whilst overlapping to some degree, largely remained distinct.[4] The migration of Prester John from Nubia to Ethiopia is further representative of the primacy of each kingdom at varying times in Latin Christian discourse. This chapter will not relate the history of Prester John in Ethiopia *per se* but will focus on the conditions which enabled the migration of Prester John from Nubia to Ethiopia. As with many of the later Latin Christian-Ethiopian relations, the myth of Prester John was another with an earlier history associated with Nubia that was only later transferred, despite the overwhelming rejection by Ethiopians themselves, to Ethiopia.

Even though a complete history of Prester John will not be retold here, it is important to situate the presence and significance of the myth before comparative discussion of the Latin Christian and Nubian and Ethiopian perspectives of the period between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries can be fully addressed. Whilst the idea of an African Prester John was not as prominent in Latin Christian discourse as it would become between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, its earliest incarnations cannot be overlooked as possible motivations behind Latin Christian interest in both Nubia and Ethiopia from the thirteenth century. How integral the African Prester John

myth was to Latin Christian engagement with either Nubia or Ethiopia before c. 1400 – the first attempted Latin Christian correspondence with this mythical, but importantly by then increasingly Ethiopian, ruler – remains questionable. Nevertheless, there are many elements of the earlier myth which should not be overlooked, notably the clear changing discourse between the prester's location in Nubia to Ethiopia when viewed alongside the broader events related in the following chapters.

The Belief in an African Prester John

Initially, Prester John and his kingdom were mostly associated with some-where in Asia, before Latin Christians migrated their discourse of Prester John into Africa.[5] However, it may be said that the mythical figure, at least partly, originated in Africa. For instance, the name 'John' (*Iohannis*) was attributed to the Ethiopian ruler noted by Roger of Howden in the late twelfth century. It had been proposed by Constantin Marinescu as early as 1923 that there was a correlation between the Gəʿəz word *ğan* (sometimes spelt *žan*), meaning 'majesty', as in the Ethiopian royal greeting 'your maj-esty' (*ğanhoy*: ዣንሆይ), and the Venetian name *Gian* (or *Zane*), or John. He proposed that the Venetians in Egypt misunderstood Ethiopians addressing the majesty of their monarch with the personal name of 'John', thus, result-ing in the growing rumours of a ruler named Prester John.[6] Certainly, no comparable reason for an Asian 'John' exists if the name was indeed not just an offhand creation in the first place. Significantly, Roger of Howden's text said nothing of a prester. No Ethiopian ruler is known to have had any form of the name 'John' during this period, whether as a personal, throne, or regal name, suggesting that this was indeed likely a misinterpretation of the Gəʿəz word *ğan*. The myth behind Prester John had many influences and any recur-ring news of an African ruler named 'John' likely did little to quell Latin Christian interest in an early African Prester John. Unlike in Asia, however, the Latin Christians did not know of a specific individual on which to base their prester characterisation, such as how they came to associate the prester with the khans of the Mongols. Importantly, Latin Christians never docu-mented arriving at his supposed court, such as they had in Asia from the 1240s.[7] The African influence on the early development of the myth of Prester John remains notable but was rarely made explicit by contemporaries in favour of the 'real' Prester John who resided in Asia. Nevertheless, the devel-opment of what may be described as the proto-Prester John of Nubia from the early thirteenth century should be viewed in parallel to the Prester John of Asia. His later relocation to Ethiopia was the product of both origins.

The migration of Prester John from Nubia to Ethiopia was aided by the fact that the rulers of both kingdoms shared the principal traits that the prester was said to possess: being a priest-king and having subordinate 'kings' under him. Most importantly, both Nubia and Ethiopia had contem-porary or near-contemporary rulers who were said to have had these traits. In the case of priest-kings, Yemreḥanna Krestos, ruler of Ethiopia in the

twelfth century, was, for example, according to his fifteenth-century *gaḍl*, an ordained priest prior to his coronation and was said to celebrate mass during his reign, as well as ruling according to the 'Apostolic Canons'.[8] The Coptic priest Abū al-Makārim, writing in the latter half of the twelfth century, similarly described the Ethiopian (those of the *al-Ḥabaša*) rulers as priests (*kahna*, كهنة) more generally.[9] In comparison, certain Nubian kings, possibly reflecting a wider adoption of the Byzantine model of rulership in addition to other Byzantine Christian influences since the sixth century, were described as being akin to priest-kings.[10] Indeed, Abū al-Makārim also referred to the 13 kings of Nubia (*al-Nūba*) as priests (*kahna*).[11] This statement was seemingly specifically reporting on the contemporary late twelfth-century reign of the Nubian *ourou* Moüses Georgios who was said to be one such priest-king.[12]

Equally, both kingdoms had political systems that could have been (mis) understood as having 'sub-kings' to external observers. Dotawo was subdivided into both kinglets and eparchs, with the most powerful being the so-called 'Lord of the Mountain' in Arabic sources (الصاحب الجبل, *al-ṣāhib al-jabal*) – the *Songoj* (ⲥⲟⲅⲟⲇ) of Nobadia (or *Migi*) in Old Nubian sources – the eparch who oversaw trade and political relations in Lower Nubia, notably those with Egypt, on behalf of the *ourou*.[13] Nubian rulers do not appear to have had any particular title that would have portrayed an essence of being a 'king of kings' in itself, unlike, for example, in Ethiopia, which had *nəgusä nägäśt* (ንጉሠ፡ነገሥት). Surviving Old Nubian sources merely employ the singular *ourou* or *basileu[s]* (ⲟⲩⲣⲟⲩ/ⲃⲁⲥⲓⲗⲉⲩ) in reference to its rulers, both when written by the *ourou* himself and by those writing to or discussing him. Any embellishment of his power is expanded upon separately in any given text, rather than being universally represented by an ideologically expansive singular title, such as *basileús basiléōn* (Βασιλεύς βασιλέων) or *ourou ourouguna* (ⲟⲩⲣⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲣⲟⲩⲅⲩⲛⲁ) akin to *nəgusä nägäśt*. It may be possible that the *ourou* of Dotawo was viewed as the subjugator of the three former states of Nobadia, Makuria, and Alwa, and therefore was literally a 'king of kings' by external observers, especially given the fact that, for instance, external Arabic sources continued to describe Nubia in terms of Nobadia, Makuria, and Alwa, rather than a united Dotawo. Nubian rulers, especially in the late twelfth century, are known to have listed these former kingdoms amongst their subordinate lands, too, despite Nubian rulers beginning to consistently project their power as *ourou* of a united Dotawo more generally.[14] Significantly, *ourou* Moüses Georgios, as well as being a contemporary priest-king, is also known to have projected himself as '*basileús* of the Alwans, Makuritans, Nobadians, the *Damalt* (?), and the ʾAksumites' (ⲃⲁⲥ ⲏⲙⲱⲛ ⲁⲣⲟⲩⲁˋⲇˊ ⲅ ⲙⲁⲕⲟⲩⲣˋⲧˊ ⲅ ⲛⲟⲃⲁⲇⲓⲟⲛ ⲅ ⲇⲁⲙⲁⲗˋⲧˊ ⲅ ⲁⲍⲓⲱⲙⲁ) in a letter to the Coptic patriarch in 1186.[15] Current evidence does not allow us to ascertain whether Latin Christians would have been aware of such projections of power with certainty, but rumours would not have had to have jumped too far to view Nubian rulers literally as 'kings of kings'. In contrast, in addition to Ethiopian rulers being more explicit in their projections of their power in their titles, Ethiopia, particularly following the rise of the Solomonids, had

strong regional governors who exchanged their loyal service for land (known in Ethiopia as the *gʷəlt*), most notably epitomised by the coastal *Bäḥr Nəguś*, whose office later increased in power during the reign of Zärʾa Yaʿəqob (r. 1433–68) and increasingly oversaw Ethiopian exploits in regard to the Red Sea.[16] The regional *nägäśt* were subject to the *nəgusä nägäśt*.

Prester John, both as a priest-king and as a 'king of kings', was therefore readily able to be attributed to either kingdom as far as his supposed traits were concerned. Yet, Nubia's role in the myth's development remains often overshadowed. Not only was Prester John first associated with Nubia, but Nubia also found itself being the home of a proto-Prester John myth concerning a powerful unnamed ruler who would aid in the Christian fight from the Fifth Crusade (1217–21). This alternative figure was not referred to as Prester John directly, though the figure did develop a parallel narrative of a mythical ruler which would later serve to cement Nubia's role in the prester's early African identification. This first appearance of a powerful unnamed Nubian king who appeared akin to a proto-Prester John was said to desire to rise up, destroy Mecca, and scatter the bones of the Prophet Muḥammad.[17] A century later, Nubia was explicitly being recorded as the home of Prester John. Any understanding of the role of Prester John in Latin Christian-Ethiopian relations cannot dismiss his earlier importance attributed to Nubia. The later Latin Christian myth of an Ethiopian Prester John merely developed on its Nubian foundations. After all, it was not coincidental that Ethiopia did not initially feature in the legend of the proto-prester following his first indirect associations with Africa during the Fifth Crusade given the overwhelming absence of Ethiopia in Latin Christian discourse in comparison to Nubia prior to the mid-fourteenth century.

The Nubian (Proto-)Prester John

The rumours of a powerful Nubian king within Latin Christian discourse first circulated during the Fifth Crusade and noted by Oliver of Paderborn, a German preacher who participated in the crusade, in his *Historia Damiatini* (wr. c.1220–2). According to Oliver, a book written in Arabic by a man said to be neither a Christian, Muslim, nor Jew began to circulate amongst the Fifth Crusaders during their siege of Damietta, which foretold that a Christian Nubian king (*regem Christianorum Nubianorum*) would rise up and destroy Mecca and scatter the bones of the Prophet Muḥammad before further relating that if Damietta was captured and the Nubian king appeared, Christianity would defeat the forces of Islam.[18] A contemporary prophecy in the *Book of Clement* added weight to this as it stated that when Easter fell on 3 April, the king of the East and king of the West would meet in Jerusalem – coincidently this would happen in 1222 as the rumours of the Nubian king were circulating.[19] Bernard Hamilton has suggested that the importance placed on this prophecy can ultimately be understood as the primary cause for the defeat of the Crusaders as, due to their keen desire to complete the prophecy, they ignored the Nile floods during their expedition towards Cairo to disastrous

effect.[20] Who exactly began the rumours of the Nubian king is unknown, though there is no evidence that Nubians had any role in disseminating them.[21] In any case, the rumours only supported what the Latin Christians had been learning about Nubia elsewhere. The Damietta prophecy can readily be viewed as an early Nubian manifestation of the myth of Prester John, either in full in all but name or as a proto-Prester John. Following the Fifth Crusade, the Damietta prophecy remained an integral discourse regarding Nubia, often being repeated and reiterated by later writers, particularly throughout the fourteenth century.[22]

An important element of Prester John's legend was his setting within an apocalyptic background, as was also the case during the Fifth Crusade. Mordechai Lewy has argued that both Nubian and Ethiopian kings, without distinction, contributed to apocalyptic narratives in Latin Christendom, whilst Lutz Greisiger has identified an earlier specifically Nubian king motif in Eastern apocalypses, particularly in association with the power of *Kūš* (ܟܘܫ).[23] Indeed, the apocalyptic discourse of Prester John had important parallels in the role assigned to the Ethiopian *nəguś* during the fourteenth century, such as in the *Kəbrä nägäśt*, which likely did little to inhibit any later Latin Christian association of the prester with Ethiopia.[24] Moreover, it was not just the Latin Christians who believed in a powerful Eastern ruler. For instance, the rumours and understandings of an Eastern ruler by Eastern Christians, especially by the Syrian Jacobite Christians, centred on Nubia, or, more precisely, *Kūš*. In addition to the fact that Nubia's biblical narrative was assured in Latin Christian discourse, the belief that *Kūš* would stretch out its hand to God (Psalm 68:31) was a universal Eastern Christian passage. Significantly, it is notable that the text of the Syriac *Pešīṭtā* Bible regarding Psalm 68:31 also took on an apocalyptic meaning, more so than it did in either its Latin or Greek manifestations. As far as the Syrian Jacobite Christians were concerned, whilst the line *as Kūš tašlem ʿīdā l-ʿalâhā* (ܟܘܫ ܬܫܠܡ ܐܝܕܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ) can be translated the same as it is in Latin, it could also be understood more forcefully as '*Kūš* will yield the power of God'.[25] Nubia, or Kush, had maintained a position of power in the eyes of Eastern Christians for centuries. A belief in Nubia as a world power, as suggested by Jürgen Tubach, can be traced back to the likes of Mānī's *Kephalaia* (c. 400 CE), which detailed the four world powers as Rome, Persia, Kush, and China.[26] Whether this Kush was attributed to Meroë or ʾAksum may have switched over time; certainly, the place of Kush as one of the world powers was known to be replaced by ʾAksum by some in later centuries, as depicted in the early eighth-century fresco at Quseir Amra in Jordan.[27] Nevertheless, the primary association of Kush and Nubia, as detailed in Chapter 1, only served to associate such narratives with Nubia, even if, occasionally, Nubia was overshadowed by Ethiopia.

The seventh-century *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, originally composed in Syriac and long known in Latin Europe through Latin and Greek translations, further suggests that an understanding of a Nubian Prester John may have been the result of Syriac exegesis. Throughout the text of Pseudo-Methodius in both Latin (*Aethiopia*) and Greek (Αἰθιόπια), along

with its Syriac versions (ܟܘܫ: *Kūš*), 'Ethiopia' was readily applied to Nubia. Chapter 9 of the *Apocalypse* contains a passage which relies heavily on the notion of 'Ethiopia' stretching out its hand to God as proclaimed in Psalm 68:31. The text explicitly states that certain members of the clergy are mistaken in associating the king of *Kūš/Aethiopia* with the end of times. Instead, the text narrates that the Psalm was actually referring to the king of the Byzantines as a descendant of the king of Kush/Ethiopia.[28] Earlier in the chapter, the text claims that the kings of Byzantium were the descendants of Byzas, who had married Chuseth (Χουσὴθ/ܟܘܫܬ (*Kūšat*)), daughter of Phol, king of 'Ethiopia', after gaining dominion over Kush – hence Chuseth's name – and whose union ultimately produced the dynasties of both Byzantium and Rome.[29] Whilst notions of an 'Ethiopian' lineage in Latin and Greek dynasties do not seemingly influence Latin Christian attempts at relations with Nubia, the beliefs of other clergy, as stated by the text, are most of note here if this belief remained active in some circles as the text continued to circulate. Most importantly for its potential influence on the Prester John myth in Latin Christendom, at least 96 of the 196 manuscripts of six Latin recensions, either in part or in full, as identified by Marc Laureys and Daniel Verhelst, are dated between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, highlighting the contemporary phenomenon that the *Apocalypse* was.[30] Even if the Syriac discourse of a king from Kush may not have been as strong as it once was, such as during the original composition of the *Apocalypse* when such rumours concerned its creator, the contemporary manuscript copies may have ignited Latin Christian interest in such a Nubian ruler.

Moreover, the notion of a distant Christian ally was also circulating in translations of other Eastern texts, such as the late thirteenth-century Latin translation of the Syriac *Legend of Baḥīrā*.[31] Coupled with the Eastern Christian textual memory of the eighth-century Nubian *ourou* Kyriakus who sent an army into Egypt following the persecution of Copts, the legendary status of Prester John appears to have been predicated upon adaptations of these earlier, notably Syriac, discourses regarding Nubian rulers.[32] Significantly, as Barbara Roggema has highlighted, the earliest known Latin *Legend of Baḥīrā* does appear to have been translated from a Syriac text, thus emphasising the role of direct informants who likely associated Nubia with apocalyptic narratives.[33] Similarly, the continual circulation of the Eastern legend of the Nubian *ourou* Kyriakus should be especially noted for the fact that he was said to rule 13 kingdoms and, furthermore, was known as 'the great king' (*al-malik al-ʿazīm*: الملك العظيم) who ruled to the southern extremities of the earth and was unchallenged by any other ruler whilst in their territory, whilst also being reiterated as the fourth of the great kings of the world.[34] Dissemination of these Eastern Christian narratives amongst the Latin Christians of the Holy Land would have lent itself to further supporting the apocalyptic narrative that underpinned Prester John and would aid to explain the early murmurings of his location in Nubia.

Despite the dissemination of the Damietta prophecy, Nubia was not directly linked to Prester John for a century. Although a copy of the original text is unknown, it would appear that the first attribution of Nubia to Prester John was by Giovanni da Carignano, who described the land of the early fourteenth-century 'Ethiopian' embassy as being ruled by Prester John, which, for reason of its reference to ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon noted in the final chapter, should be dated to between 1314 and the date of Carignano's death in 1329–30.[35] The embassy's retrospective Ethiopian association will be discussed later and should not detract from the original Nubian identity of the embassy, and by extension its reference to Prester John, in the text here. If this was the case and, more importantly, was determined by the Nubian delegation themselves as the text relates, it also provides the only possible evidence that Nubians were aware of their association with the prester. What the Nubians thought of this, however, is not known. Much like the case of an Ethiopian embassy to Portugal in 1509 detailed later in this chapter, it may be the case that the Nubians used their association with the Prester John myth to attempt to achieve greater success in the outcome of their embassy. In addition to Carignano's text, the *Mirabilia* (wr. c. 1330) of Jordanus Catalani, a Catalan Dominican missionary, described Prester John as the ruler of the land of *Ethiopia* – a land which is later described as exceedingly great (*in excessu est magnum*) and with a Christian population of at least three times that of Latin Europe.[36] Most of the text is fanciful, aligning with the Wonders of the East genre in which 'Ethiopia' was the home of dragons, giant flying birds, unicorns, sweating cats whose scent was collected, large venomous serpents, and gryphons.[37] Two specific descriptions, however, are suggestive of a Nubian identification despite the text most commonly being associated as evidence of an Ethiopian Prester John in scholarship.[38] The first is a reference to three adjoining mountains in this 'Ethiopia', most likely a confused understanding of the two mountains of the Bāb al-Nūba (the 'Gate of Nubia') depicted on medieval maps, with the second being a reference to an annual tribute from the Egyptian sultan to this Prester John, seemingly being a manipulated or confused understanding of the Baqṭ exchange between Nubia and Egypt.[39] By his own admission, Jordanus Catalini had not visited *Ethiopia*, but he had been informed by so-called 'trustworthy people', including having apparently seen and known many people from the land.[40] The veracity of this statement should be questioned as such claims were a common literary device designed to support an author's legitimacy, yet the specific information provided by Jordanus, despite its relative scarcity, cannot discount some use of regional, if not Nubian, informants whose information may have been distorted. Certainly, Jordanus' account of Indian toponyms attests to intimate knowledge gained directly from Indians in comparison, for instance.[41]

The first surviving direct mention of Prester John as a Nubian appeared in the work of Jacopo of Verona (fl. 1335), which labelled the king of *Nubia* as Prester John, whilst also attributing him powers otherwise associated with Ethiopians, such as his alleged control over the Nile.[42] Jacopo's separation

between Nubians and Ethiopians (*Jabes*; an understanding of *Ḥabaš[a]*) does suggest that he intentionally attributed his Prester John to Nubia whether he intended to conflate him with the Ethiopian ruler's supposed power over the Nile or not. Most notably, these texts predate any surviving notice locating Prester John in Ethiopia proper, which only serves to highlight the initial primacy of Nubia over Ethiopia as the preeminent powerful kingdom in north-east Africa in Latin Christian discourse. By the mid-fourteenth century, however, Ethiopia was beginning to replace Nubia in Latin Christian discourse, thus explaining the somewhat limited direct references to a Nubian Prester John during the rise of his Ethiopian counterpart. That said, a Nubian Prester John did not disappear immediately. For example, a Prester John of *Nubye* was later recalled by Jean of Bethencourt, a French explorer who wrote his *l'Histoire de la Conquête des Canaries* in the early fifteenth century following his conquest of the Canaries in 1402, suggesting that notions of the Nubian Prester John did not disappear immediately.[43] Moreover, the influence of the Nubian Prester John in late-fourteenth-century Latin Christian discourse was still prominent. According to John of Hildesheim (d. 1375), for instance, the Templars acquired the diadem of the Wise Man Melchior, king of *Nubia* and in whose land now resided Prester John, and had brought it to Acre around the year 1200.[44] Not coincidentally, this identification of Melchior as a Nubian was written during the increased representation of the black Magi in Latin Christian art.[45] No evidence, either material or other textual references, is known to support John of Hildesheim's statement regarding the diadem, however. Nevertheless, whilst the date of 1200 would appear to be early for a relic associated with a Nubian Prester John to be brought to Acre in light of comparable evidence, it is worth combining this event with the hypothesis of David Jacoby, who has posited that relics were possibly used to rank churches along the pilgrimage route within Acre.[46] If there is any truth to this story, or even to the strength of its influence to encourage John of Hildesheim to narrate such an event, it would suggest a physical, as well as an ideological, importance to the Nubian Prester John, or at least the connected Melchior, to the Latin Christians. The Nubian Prester John was, in this instance, being incorporated into a broader narrative which could, importantly, provide supposed tangible evidence. Notably, a comparable material or ideological importance was not witnessed regarding the Ethiopian Prester John until the fifteenth century.

It is unknown why the Latin Christian discourse regarding a Nubian Prester John took so long to appear following the dissemination of the much earlier Damietta prophecy. This absence in the sources, however, is also apparent in the discussion of Nubia more generally until the late thirteenth century and may have hinged on the success of returning news from missionaries who had increasingly been encouraged to connect with Nubia since the 1240s. It is also notable that little information regarding contemporary Nubian affairs appears to have circulated in the texts of other possible informants, such as by Muslim writers, until the 1270s which further likely inhibited the knowledge of the Latin Christians which they could have

projected the Prester John discourse on to. Whatever the reason for the slow development of the discourse of the Nubian Prester John proper, Nubia's importance in the foundations of the myth that would become most associated with Ethiopia, both directly and contextually, should not be ignored.

Merging the African Prester Johns and Relocating to Ethiopia

Prester John's relocation to Ethiopia coincided with the reign of ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon and the significance that he had on Latin Christian perceptions of north-east African power, which we will relate in the following chapters, following the expansion of Ethiopia from all sides against Muslim and non-Christian neighbours.[47] The vagueness of some of the prester's supposed traits aided his metamorphosis. In addition to the traits mentioned above, the shift between Nubia and Ethiopia in the Prester John narrative may also be explained as a development of the Fifth Crusade rumours of the Eastern King David which circulated in addition to the Damietta myth of the Nubian king.[48] No Nubian or Ethiopian ruler named David is known to have ruled during the period of the Fifth Crusade. However, the relocation of the prester to Ethiopia noticeably coincided with the rise of the Solomonic dynasty after 1270, whose rulers claimed descent from King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba and whose rulers, more importantly, were commonly given the name David in some capacity.[49] Whether coincidental or not, Solomonic Ethiopia could equally serve as the location for both King David and as the kingdom powerful enough to conflate with the Damietta myth by the time of the prester's associations with Ethiopia in the fourteenth century. In contrast, Nubia's most contemporary *ourou* David I, of whom little is known, ruled before c. 1155, many decades prior to the Fifth Crusade. The later reign of *ourou* David II (r. 1268–76) was characterised by subjugation, epitomised by his captivity in Cairo. Did, however, the name 'David' still hold power in the eyes of the Latin Christians? It would explain why Sultan Qalāwūn's treaty with King Alfonso III of Aragon in 1290 made special mention of the fact that the Mamlūks ruled over the territory of David of Nubia (Dāwūd of *al-Nūbah*) following his capture in 1275/6, despite no other rulers being addressed by name in relation to other conquered lands.[50] The specific naming of the *ourou* would appear intentional and significant as if it held some importance to the Latin Christian audience above the others. Any Nubian or Ethiopian link to the Fifth Crusade King David may be coincidental, but Solomonic Ethiopia's ruling Davids should not be ignored as a possible contributing factor in influencing where Prester John could be found in Africa, whether that was to direct the changing discourse towards Ethiopia or to reinforce it once he was believed to have been located there.

Another likely key influence behind the prester's relocation can be found in Islamic discourse. In comparison to the Nubian identification of 'Ethiopia'/'Kush' in Christian discourse, Islamic discourse offered narratives of an Ethiopian power that could readily rival that of Nubia. Principally, an Ḥadith known as *Dhūl-Suwayqatayn* recounted that the 'one with bow-legs'

from Ethiopia (*al-Ḥabaša*: الحبشة) would destroy the Ka'ba in Mecca towards the end of time, building upon a briefer extract from the Qur'an (Al-Fīl 105). These references are based on the actions of ʾAbrəha, the sixth-century ʾAksumite viceroy of Yemen, who was said to have marched upon Mecca in the Year of the Elephant in c. 570 CE.[51] ʾAbrəha threatened to destroy the Ka'ba in response to the vandalism of the newly built cathedral of Sana'a.[52] Whilst not actually a king, the role of ʾAbrəha in Islam can readily be seen as a potential, albeit confused, influence in the narrative of the Nubian king's power during the Fifth Crusade. It is no coincidence that the rumours regarding the Nubian king during the Fifth Crusade similarly contained the apocalyptic notion that he would destroy Mecca, notably reflecting a contemporary *Dhūl-Suwayqatayn*. Importantly for the Islamic narrative's dissemination within Latin Christendom outside of the Holy Land, the Qur'an had been translated into Latin in the 1140s by Robert of Ketton. Problematically for aiding any further reconstruction of the dissemination of such narratives, few accompanying translations of Ḥadiths survive and none appear to refer to *Dhūl-Suwayqatayn*. For instance, the Ḥadiths translated in the Toledan Collection which contains Ketton's Qur'an do not feature any related to ʾAbrəha. Without wider circulated knowledge it would have been unlikely that Latin Christians would have associated the Latin translation of Sura 105 naming an *hominum elephantis* to a powerful African in isolation, let alone attribute an Ethiopian identification to the growing myth of Prester John.[53] Nevertheless, it cannot be dismissed that such understandings of this Ḥadith had become known elsewhere via Muslims, former Muslim converts, or Eastern Christians, which would have further provided a source for a narrative concerning a comparable powerful Ethiopian ruler to accompany other contemporary discourses as the Nubian Prester John remained elusive.

Once news of ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon's expansion of Solomonic Ethiopian territory filtered through to Latin Christians, Ethiopia became a ready replacement for the home of Prester John. The first insinuation of an Ethiopian identification of Prester John is found in the itinerary of Symon Semeonis in 1323, though this is far from explicit either. Semeonis noted that Prester John resided up the Nile in Upper *India*.[54] Problematically, the single surviving manuscript creates challenges for interpretation, but it is notable that he was not explicitly associated with other passages concerning Nubia (*Danubia*) in the text. With Prester John being locatable in relation to the Nile, it would appear that this 'India' may well have been, in fact, Ethiopia. In any case, Prester John cannot be said to have been directly only attributed to Ethiopia, without any additional primary accompanying listing of Nubia, until the 1360s. An Ethiopian Prester John, who also is described as a king, appears in Johannes de Marignolli's *Relatio* of his travels (c. 1360s), in which he explicitly links the prester to the land of *Abasty*.[55] Ethiopia's early absence in the Prester John discourse can readily be attributed to its lack of stature in Latin Christian discourse more broadly, whether as a result of a lack of knowledge or the continued preference for Nubia. Ethiopia only rose to prominence in the Prester John myth as Nubia appeared to no longer offer itself as a

suitable candidate for being the prester's land following further Mamlūk aggression. Notably, competition between the African Prester Johns during the fourteenth century only appeared following the arrival of ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon to the Ethiopian throne in 1314 and his period of expansion, which made the *nəguś* internationally renowned, particularly in Latin Europe. The significance of ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon's reign in Prester John discourse aids to explain why Marco Polo did not describe an Ethiopian Prester John whilst relating his travels to Rustichello da Pisa in 1298, despite dedicating a sizeable portion of his narrative to the power of the contemporary Ethiopian ruler of a land he called *Abasce*. Moreover, in Polo's text, Nubia is insignificant, commonly appearing only once in passing, despite the continuing primacy of Nubia in the discourses of his contemporary writers. Instead, Polo favours the power of *Abasce*.[56] Yet, narration of the great power of the Ethiopian ruler did not connect him to Prester John, who Polo continually connected to the Mongols throughout his work. Indeed, later translations of his travels sought to actively address this discrepancy and inserted Nubian and Ethiopian associations with the prester instead, as can be witnessed in a Catalan copy, for example.[57]

The significance of the process of the relocation of Prester John from Nubia to Ethiopia on contemporary maps and portolans has often eluded much explicit discussion in scholarship. Instead, his location in both Nubia and Ethiopia has primarily been treated as the product of the same discourse of Prester John in Africa and the discrepancy is largely blamed on the confusion of individual cartographers.[58] However, when viewed against the backdrop of two distinct intellectual discourses within Latin Europe, the pictorial presentation of Prester John residing in, at first, Nubia and then later Ethiopia should not be viewed as an insignificant confusion. It has long been claimed that Giovanni da Carignano's map of c. 1314–29, often wrongly dated to 1306, presented Prester John in Ethiopia.[59] However, from the surviving images of the now destroyed manuscript, which was bombed during World War Two, no evidence can be gleaned for any association between Prester John and the map's *Terra Abaise*. Additionally, no validity to this stated fact can be supported by de la Flamma's copying of Carignano's now lost separate *Ystoria Ethyopie*, which suggests that this would not have been the case on his map, especially as, as argued in the final chapter of this book, this text should be associated with Nubia, not Ethiopia.[60] Another map to be attributed with an Ethiopian Prester John is the Angelino Dulcert map of c. 1339, but this, despite the direct link made in scholarship, does not even depict Ethiopia and solely clearly presents Nubia despite the reference to ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon (called *Senap* on the map). Prester John is described as the ruler of Nubia and Ethiopia, but his singular location in Ethiopia is not explicit; if anything, even though news of ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon was gaining traction in Latin Europe, Nubia was not to be easily replaced as the kingdom of primary importance as the location of the Prester.[61] Towards the end of the century, a shift can be witnessed in Latin European cartography in line with textual descriptions. For example, Prester John is not only identified as Ethiopian on

the 1375 Catalan Atlas but also explicitly described as not being Nubian. A legend on the map states that the '[Muslim] king of Nubia' was constantly at war with the Christians of Nubia, who, in turn, were subject to the emperor of Ethiopia and of the lands of Prester John.[62] However, the influence of the Nubian Prester John on Latin Christian cartographical discourse was not replaced immediately. For instance, the Borgia world map (c. 1430) labels Nubia as being the land of Prester John, whilst further relating how the kingdom stretched from the Straits of Gibraltar to the River of Gold in West Africa.[63] In contrast, Prester John – the king of *Abbassia* – played a central role in Fra Mauro's world map (c. 1450) which relied on separate information gained from Ethiopian informants to overstate Ethiopia's, and the prester's, power within the wider African continent. Whilst Nubia does still feature on the map, it is of overwhelming insignificance in relation to Ethiopia.[64] It is not the concern here to further relay the presence of Prester John in Ethiopia on subsequent maps, but it should be stated that cartographical discourse similarly aligned with textual discourse which at first placed emphasis on Nubia and only later shifted focus to include Ethiopia, albeit at a slightly slower pace.

Cementing the Prester's Ethiopian Identification

It was not just news of ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon's expeditions of expansion that helped to cement Prester John's Ethiopian identity either. Ethiopia's self-identification as the 'Ethiopia' of scripture in the fourteenth century effectively adopted the identification of Prester John, too, at least in the eyes of the Latin Christians. For example, the fourteenth century witnessed a revival of apocalyptic literature in Ethiopia which attested to the meeting of the Ethiopian and Roman rulers. The *Kəbrä nägäśt*, above all, particularly attended to the revelations of the meeting of a Roman and Ethiopian ruler.[65] Similarly, other texts further made reference to this, such as the Ethiopic version of Pseudo-Shenoute (fl. c. 1330), which also ends with passages involving the apocalyptic meeting of the Ethiopian and Roman rulers.[66] Specifically regarding Ethiopia's growing role in Latin Christian discourse, the text narrated the Ethiopian ruler as having received gifts from the Roman ruler following Ethiopia's threats to Mecca and its ruler's desire to control Jerusalem.[67] The Ethiopian ruler in these narratives could readily be perceived as being akin to what Prester John was hoped to be, though there is no direct evidence that this particular narrative was known by any contemporary Latin Christians. More importantly, the hoped-for meeting of Prester John with rulers in Latin Europe was the ultimate desire, and Ethiopian narratives only served to fuel what Latin Christians desired. Whilst Ethiopia did not link itself to Prester John during this early period, as Ethiopians increasingly explicitly described themselves as 'Ethiopians' to Latin Christians throughout the fourteenth century, it was all Latin Christians needed to identify Ethiopia as the home of the prester.

Almost no Ethiopian sources engage with the name of Prester John and Ethiopian rulers adamantly rejected it. This was the case when four Ethiopian monks, who were sent on behalf of Zärʾa Yaʿəqob to the Council of Florence in 1441, outright dismissed the idea that their ruler was called Prester John, for example.[68] There is one notable exception to the Ethiopian dismissal of the narrative, but there may have been a particular motive for it. Ethiopia's ambassador to Portugal in the early sixteenth century, Mateus, did identify himself as the ambassador of *Brest Jūān* (جوان برست) in the opening of four surviving letters to the Portuguese, notably to Dom Manuel, written in Arabic, following his stay in Lisbon and his return to Ethiopia. It is unclear whether this identification was Mateus' initiative, not least because of the use of the non-Arabic *anbašadūr* (انبشدور) to imitate the Portuguese *embaixador*, 'ambassador', which would suggest that addressing the mythical figure in a way that the Portuguese would best understand was of particular concern, or whether he had been under orders from *ətege* ʾƐleni, who had originally sent him in 1509 and directed Dom Manuel to listen to Mateus as if his words were those directly of the *nəguś*, to adopt this identification from the beginning.[69] Significantly, the choice of this identity was instead of Mateus identifying himself as the ambassador of *ʾItyoṗya* – Prester John and Ethiopia were synonymous. In the margin of one letter, Mateus explicitly emphasises that Prester John was the *malik al-Ḥabaša*.[70] Ethiopian rulers were certainly aware of their association with Prester John, but how often or to what extent they potentially used this to their advantage on occasion is unknown, particularly in order to achieve their objectives during the diplomatic relations which followed 1402. The evidence is unclear, and direct evidence only survives in these Arabic letters of Mateus, but Ethiopia's association with Prester John likely only increased the ability of Ethiopian rulers to achieve their objectives, whether the myth of the prester was engaged explicitly or tacitly by others if the occasion called for it. Nothing else can be said as known other Ethiopian evidence either does not mention the myth or dismisses any Ethiopian association with the prester.

Significantly, the 1402 embassy arrived within the context of four decades of the shifting of Latin Christian discourse which began identifying Prester John as explicitly Ethiopian from the 1360s. Knowledge of Ethiopia's supposedly mythical control over the Nile floods also appeared to reach Latin Europe around this time. The myth had circulated in Arabic texts since the late eleventh century but only became recorded in a Latin Christian text in 1335, though initially associated with Nubia. Nevertheless, the myth increasingly became associated with Ethiopia similarly from the 1360s.[71] Importantly, this belief in the power of the Ethiopian ruler to control the Nile went on to become a key element in Latin Christian discourse, particularly following the arrival of the 1402 embassy.[72] Elsewhere, the forged letter supposedly sent from Wədəm Räʿad (r. 1299–1314) to Charles IV, written sometime after 1355 when Charles IV succeeded to become Holy Roman Emperor, to legitimise an Ethiopian origin for the 1300–c. after 1314 embassy to Castile and

Avignon further highlights the growing importance of Ethiopia in Latin Christian discourse, especially as the embassy had been claimed in the letter to have been sent from Prester John.[73] The letter's attempt to forefront Ethiopia in Latin Christian discourse is significant, especially in the form of a forgery, which, in the words of Giles Constable, would have been created by someone who would have 'attune[d] their deceits so closely to the desires and standards of their age'.[74] The creation of such a forgery would suggest a wider consciousness amongst its potential audience and shows an intimate awareness by its creator of the need to place Wədəm Räʿad as the ruler of Ethiopia for the time of the embassy to legitimise the legacy of Prester John's new Ethiopian identity. This replacement of Nubia by Ethiopia in the Prester John narrative can further be witnessed in the anonymous *Libro del conoscimiento* (wr. c. 1378–1402). As noted by Nancy Marino, the three cross flag attributed to Nubia on Dulcert's 1339 map was also assigned to the land of Prester John in the *Libro*, though any connections between the texts are commonly rejected irrespective of the *Libro* also sharing many other traits with Dulcert's map.[75] On Dulcert's map, Prester John was clearly located in Nubia. However, Prester John ruled over both Nubia and Ethiopia in the *Libro*, but the fact that the text projects the power of Ethiopia much more than it does for Nubia further evidences the increasing weight being placed on Prester John's Ethiopian profile. The knowledge of ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon in the *Libro* is clear, as the Ethiopian ruler is named *Abdeselib*, an understanding of the Arabic translation (ʿ*Abd aṣ-Ṣalīb*) of ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon's throne name, Gäbrä Mäsqäl – 'servant of the cross' – and yet again emphasises the importance that news of ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon's activities had on shaping Latin Christian discourse concerning the identity of Prester John.[76]

The shift towards an Ethiopian Prester John also took on a new development. In 1400, Henry IV of England (r. 1399–1413) wrote directly to the 'magnificent and powerful prince, king of Ethiopia, or Prester John, our friend in beloved Christ' (*magnifico et potenti Principi, Regi Abassice, sive Presbytero Johanni, amico nostro in Christo dilecto*), which is the first known attempted correspondence between a Latin Christian ruler and Ethiopia.[77] There is no evidence that this letter ever reached Ethiopia or if it was even a legitimate attempt at communication. For instance, it may simply have been an attempt to project Henry as a strong character on the international stage following his succession to the English crown as a result of usurping Richard II in the previous year.[78] Henry's letter is further somewhat surprising given that English sources detailing contemporary events in Ethiopia are rare and that, apart from this one scenario, English rulers were not known for their attempts to contact Prester John, either before or indeed in the following decades. In any case, the arrival of the 1402 Ethiopian embassy to Venice and subsequent gift exchanges emphasised that the Ethiopian ruler was reachable, whilst, in comparison, Nubia's Prester John remained elusive.[79] Further letters to the Ethiopian Prester John followed in 1406 and 1407 by Charles VI of France and Konrad of Jungingen, Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, respectively, as diplomatic relations began to be sought

following the 1402 embassy.[80] Once Ethiopian embassies arrived in Latin Europe from 1402, the Latin Christians believed that they had finally reengaged with the prester – at least in the eyes of the Latin Christian commentators who attributed the early fourteenth-century embassy to Ethiopia. The prester remained located in Ethiopia until intensive interactions with the Portuguese led to the dwindling of the myth into obscurity in the seventeenth century.[81] Despite Ethiopia's overwhelming rejection of its association with Prester John, its relations with Latin Europe during the fifteenth century were governed by Ethiopia's ability to navigate its image within Latin Christendom for its own ends, which was arguably epitomised by the exploits of Ethiopia's ambassador Mateus from 1509.

The history of Africa's Prester John includes much more than merely its Ethiopian incarnation. Nubia's role in the development of the African Prester John, especially as the source of the later Ethiopian Prester, should no longer remain elusive in future discussions. Instead, significantly, the competition between Nubia and Ethiopia in fourteenth-century Latin Christian discourse led to competing African Prester Johns. Prester John was said to reside in Nubia when Nubia was the prime focus of the Latin Christians in their crusading endeavours. As Nubia's perceived power declined and it increased in obscurity, not only did Ethiopia replace Nubia in Latin Christian discourse more generally, but this was also reflected in the location of Prester John. Therefore, the history of the Ethiopian Prester John, which has gained the most attention in scholarship, was entwined with his Nubian predecessor like many other elements narrated in this book. Whilst both kingdoms were important in the development of Prester John in Africa, there was a distinct difference between the earlier Nubian and later Ethiopian narratives. The Nubian Prester John, despite its earlier proto-Prester John manifestation since the Fifth Crusade, grew out of the arrival of the early fourteenth-century (1300–c. after 1314) Nubian embassy, whereas the Ethiopian Prester John, which developed following news of ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon's military exploits, served as the motivation to facilitate future embassies with Ethiopia. Noticeably, the two African Prester Johns served different political and symbolic roles. The Nubian Prester John remained mythical, whereas the Ethiopian Prester John became reachable. What Nubians made of their association with the Prester John myth is unknown, whilst Ethiopians do mostly appear to have actively rejected the identification. Whatever the ideological and textual influences behind Prester John's relocation to Ethiopia by the Latin Christians, this development certainly post-dated that of his initial proto- and direct identification with Nubia.

Notes

1 Otto of Freising, 'De Duabus Civitatibus', Book VII Ch. 33, pp. 363–7 (text); Otto of Freising, *The Two Cities*, trans. Mierow et al., pp. 443–4 (trans.).
2 Brewer, *Prester John,* pp. 316–9.
3 R. Lefevre, 'Riflessi etiopici nella cultura europea del medioevo e del rinascimento – parte seconda', *Annali Lateranensi*, 9 (1945), pp. 331–444; J. Richard, 'Les premiers missionaires latins en Éthiopie (XIIe–XIVe siècles)', in *Atti del convegno*

internazionale di studi etiopici, Roma 2–4 Aprile 1959 (Rome, 1960), pp. 323–9; Taddesse Tamrat, *Church and State*, pp. 250–67; M. Abir, *Ethiopia and the Red Sea: The Rise and Decline of the Solomonic Dynasty and Muslim-European Rivalry in the Region* (London, 1980); C. F. Beckingham, 'Ethiopia and Europe 1200–1650', in *The European Outthrust and Encounter: The First Phase c.1400–c.1700: Essays in Tribute to David Beers Quinn on his 85th Birthday*, eds. C. H. Clough and P. E. H. Hair (Liverpool, 1994), pp. 77–96; W. Baum, *Äithiopien und der Westen im Mittelalter: Die Selbstbehauptung der christlichen Kultur am oberen Nil zwischen dem islamischen Orient und dem europäischen Kolonialismus* (Klagenfurt, 2001); M. Salvadore, 'The Ethiopian Age of Exploration: Prester John's Discovery of Europe, 1306–1458', JWH, 21 (2010), pp. 593–627; B. Weber, 'Vrais et faux Éthiopiens au XVᵉ siècle en Occident? Du bon usage des connexions', *Annales d'Éthiopie*, 27 (2012), pp. 107–26; A. Kurt, 'The Search for Prester John, A Projected Crusade and the Eroding Prestige of Ethiopian Kings, c.1200–c.1540', JMH, 39.3 (2013), pp. 1–24; Salvadore, *African Prester John*; A. Knobler, *Mythology and Diplomacy in the Age of Exploration* (Leiden, 2017), pp. 30–56; V. Krebs, 'Fancy Names and Fake News. Notes on the Conflation of Solomonic Ethiopian Rulership with the Myth of Prester John in the Late Medieval Latin Christian Diplomatic Correspondence', *Orbis Aethiopicus*, 17 (2021), pp. 89–124.

4 For an opposing view, see, for example, M. Lewy, *Der Apokalyptische Abessinier und die Kreuzzüge: Wandel eines frühislamischen Motivs in der Literatur und Kartografie des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 2018). Lewy does not see a particular distinction between Nubia and Ethiopia in Latin Christian discourse.

5 On the myth, see most recently Brewer, *Prester John*; Knobler, *Mythology*. On the movement of Prester John, see B. Hamilton, 'Continental Drift: Prester John's Progress Through the Indies', in *Prester John, the Mongols and the Ten Lost Tribes*, eds. C. F. Beckingham and B. Hamilton (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 237–69; W. Baum, *Die Verwandlungen des Mythos vom Reich des Priesterkönigs Johannes: Rom, Byzanz und die Christen des Orients im Mittelalter* (Klagenfurt, 1999); C. Rouxpetel, 'La figure du Prêtre Jean: les mutations d'une prophétie Souverain chrétien idéal, figure providentielle ou paradigme de l'orientalisme médiéval', *Questes*, 28 (2014), pp. 99–120. On the specifically African context, see, amongst others, R. Lefevre, 'Riflessi etiopici nella cultura europea del medioevo e del rinascimento', *Annali Lateranensi*, 8 (1944), pp. 9–89; F. Relaño, *The Shaping of Africa: Cosmographic Discourse and Cartographic Science in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 51–74.

6 C. Marinescu, 'Le prêtre Jean. Son Pays. Explication de son Nom', *Académie Roumaine, Bulletin de la Section Historique*, 10 (1923), pp. 101–3.

7 For more on this period of Mongol-Latin Christian interaction, see P. Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221–1410* (Abingdon, 2018).

8 *Il Gadla Yemreḥanna Krestos*, ed. and trans. P. Marrassini (Napoli, 1995), pp. 30–2, 45–8 (text), 69–70, 81–3 (trans.); 44 (text), 80 (trans.); M.-L. Derat, 'Roi prêtre et Prêtre Jean: analyse de la Vie d'un souverain éthiopien du XIIe siècle, Yemreḥanna Krestos', *Annales d'Ethiopie*, 27 (2012), pp. 127–43.

9 *Churches and Monasteries*, ed. and trans. Evetts, pp. 132–3 (text), 286 (trans.).

10 For examples, see U. Monneret de Villard, *Storia della Nubia cristiana* (Rome, 1938), pp. 98–9; Ruffini *Medieval Nubia*, pp. 245, 248. On Byzantine priest-kings, see G. Dagron, *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium*, trans. J. Birrell (Cambridge, 2003).

11 *Churches and Monasteries*, ed. and trans. Evetts, pp. 125 (text), 272 (trans.).

12 Giovanni Ruffini similarly posits that Moüses Georgios may be the source for Abū al-Makārim's comments: Ruffini *Medieval Nubia*, 248.

13 L. V. Žabkar, 'The Eparch of Nubia as King', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 22.4 (1963), pp. 217–19; B. Hendrickx, 'The "Lord of the Mountain": A Study of the Nubian Eparchos of Nobadia', *Le Muséon*, 124.3–4 (2011), pp. 303–55.

14 Moüses Georgios seems to have been particularly keen to display this power – for example, DBMNT no.610; Łajtar and van der Vliet, 'Rich Ladies of Meinarti', pp. 47–8.

15 DBMNT no.610; W. Y. Adams, *Qasr Ibrîm: The Late Mediaeval Period* (London, 1996), pp. 228–9 (trans.).

16 Regrettably, the majority of Ethiopian evidence dates from the fifteenth century, but elements of these better recorded later governmental divisions may be understood to have existed since the establishment of Solomonic rule, if not earlier: D. Crummey, 'Abyssinian Feudalism', *Past and Present*, 89 (1980), pp. 115–38; Merid W. A., 'Military Elites in Medieval Ethiopia', *JES*, 30.1 (1997), pp. 31–73.

17 M. Gosman, 'La Legende du Pretre Jean et la Propagande auprès des Croises devant Damiette (1218–1221)', in *La Croisade, réalités et fictions: Actes du colloque d'Amiens, 18–22 mars 1987*, ed. D. Buschinger (Göppingen, 1989), pp. 133–42; B. Hamilton, 'The Impact of Prester John on the Fifth Crusade', in *Fifth Crusade in Context*, eds. Mylod, Perry, Smith, and Vandeburie, pp. 53–67.

18 Oliver of Paderborn, 'Historia Damiatini', ed. Hoogeweg, Ch. 35, pp. 231–2 (text); Oliver of Paderborn, *Capture of Damietta*, trans. Gavigan, pp. 89–90 (trans.).

19 Oliver of Paderborn, 'Historia Damiatini', ed. Hoogeweg, Ch. 56, 259 (text); Oliver of Paderborn, *Capture of Damietta*, trans. Gavigan, 113 (trans.). The circulation of such apocalyptic prophecies during the Fifth Crusade was relatively widespread: Lewy, *Der Apokalyptische Abessinier*, pp. 130–88.

20 Hamilton, 'Continental Drift', 246.

21 Benjamin Weber has suggested that it may have been instigated by one or more Copts: Weber, 'Damiette, 1220: La cinquième croisade et l'Apocalypse arabe de Pierre dans leur contexte nilotique', *Médiévales*, 79 (2020), pp. 69–90.

22 For example, the Damietta prophecy was invoked almost verbatim by Marino Sanudo in his *Liber Secretorum*, which he presented to Pope John XXII in 1321. Another treatise, the 1332 *Directorium ad Passagium Faciendum* attributed to Pseudo-Brocardus, likewise made reference to the prophesy heard at Damietta. Similarly, it could also be argued that the prophecy also influenced Ottokar aus der Gaal's early fourteenth-century historical poem the *Österreichische Reimchronik* where he poetically speaks of the *Künig von Ethyopia* as wanting to avenge the defeat of the Christians. The prophecy was again told by John of Ypres, writing before his death in 1383, in his *Chronico Sythiensi Sancti Bertini* whilst abbot of Saint-Bertin: Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Liber secretorum*, ed. Bongars, Book III Part XI Ch. 7, pp. 207–8 (text); Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Book of Secrets*, trans. Lock, 329 (trans.); Pseudo-Brocardus, 'Directorium ad Passagium Faciendum', in RHC Doc. Arm. II, De tercio motivo ad passagium faciendum, 388; Ottokar aus der Gaal, '*Österreichische Reimchronik*', in MGH Dt. Chron., V.i, v.52840–53243, pp. 705–12; Iohannes de Ypra, 'Chronicon S. Bertini', in *Recueil des historiens de la France*, t. XVIII, Anno 1218, pp. 607–8.

23 Lewy, *Der Apokalyptische Abessinier*; L. Greisiger, 'Ein nubischer Erlöser-König: Kūš in syrischen Apokalypsen des 7. Jahrhunderts', in *Der Christliche Orient und seine Umwelt*, eds. S. G. Vashalomidze and L. Greisiger (Wiesbaden, 2007), pp. 189–213. For another example, see J. P. Monferrer Sala, 'Tradición e intertextualidad en la apocalíptica cristiana oriental. El motivo de los reyes de Etiopía y Nubia en el "Apocalipsis (árabe) del Ps. Atanasio" y sus *testimonia apocalyptica*', *Al-Qantara*, 32.1 (2011), pp. 199–228.

24 See Derat, 'Roi prêtre et Prêtre Jean'; M. Giardini, 'The Quest for the Ethiopian Prester John and Its Eschatological Implications', *Medievalia*, 22 (2019), pp. 55–87.

25 F. J. Martinez, 'The King of Rūm and the King of Ethiopia in Medieval Apocalyptic Texts from Egypt', in *Coptic Studies: Acts of the Third International Congress of Coptic Studies, Warsaw, 20–25 August 1984*, ed. W. Godlweski

(Warsaw, 1990), 253. This is also noted in Knobler, *Mythology*, 34. *Kūš* should, however, originally be read as Nubia rather than Ethiopia.

26 J. Tubach, 'Die Tradition von den vier Weltreichen im christlichen Nubien', in *Die koptische Kirche in den ersten drei islamischen Jahrhunderten: Beiträge zum gleichnamigen Leucorea-Kolloquium 2002*, ed. W. Beltz (Halle, 2003), pp. 199–209.

27 A. Musil, *Kusejr 'Amra und Schlösser östlich von Moab*, vol. 2 (Vienna, 1907), pl. XXVI.

28 *Apocalypse Pseudo-Methodius: An Alexandrian World Chronicle*, ed. and trans. B. Garstad (Cambridge, Mass., 2012), Ch. 14, pp. 64–5 (Greek text and trans); 134–5 (Latin text and trans.); *Die Syrische Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius*, ed. G. J. Reinink (Leuven, 1993), pp. 44–5 (Syriac text).

29 The queen's name is also notable for associations with Kush: *Apocalypse Pseudo-Methodius*, ed. and trans. Garstad, Ch. 9, pp. 28–33 (Greek text and trans); 100–5 (Latin text and trans.); *Die Syrische Apokalypse*, ed. Reinink, pp. 17–20 (Syriac text).

30 M. Laureys and D. Verhelst, 'Pseudo-Methodius, *Revelationes*: Textgeschichte und kritische Edition. Ein Leuven-Groninger Forschungprojekt', in *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*, eds. W. Verbeke, D. Verhelst, and A. Welkenhuysen (Leuven, 1988), pp. 112–36.

31 J. Bignami-Odier and G. Levi Della Vida, 'Une version latine de l'apocalypse syro-arabo de Serge-Bahira', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 62 (1950), 145.

32 Seignobos, 'Stratigraphie d'un récit'.

33 B. Roggema, *The Legend of Sergius Baḥīrā: Eastern Christian Apologetics and Apocalyptic in Response to Islam* (Leiden, 2009), pp. 215–18.

34 For example: *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria III: Agathon – Michael I (766 AD)*, ed. and trans. B. T. A. Evetts, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. 5.1. (Paris, 1910), pp.145–6 [399–400] (text and trans.).

35 Bausi and Chiesa, 'The *Ystoria Ethyopie*', pp. 18–21 (text and trans.).

36 C. Gadrat, ed. and trans., *Une Image de l'Orient au XIVe siècle: Les Mirabilia Descripta de Jordan Catala de Sévérac, edition, traduction et commentaire* (Paris, 2005), pp. 259, 265 (text), 287, 293 (trans.).

37 Gadrat, ed. and trans., *Une Image de l'Orient*, pp. 261 (text), 289 (trans.).

38 For example, see Hamilton, 'Continental Drift', 252; Relaño, *Shaping of Africa*, 55; Gadrat, ed. and trans., *Une Image de l'Orient*, 182; Kurt, 'Search for Prester John', 300.

39 'In this Ethiopia there are two mountains of fire [with] a mountain of gold between them' (*In ista Ethiopia, sunt duo montes ignei et in medio mons aureus unus*), and 'It is said that the sultan of Egypt gives a tribute of five hundred thousand ducats each year to this emperor' (*Isti imperatori soldanus Babilonie dat omni anno de tributo quingenta milia duplarum, ut dicitur*): Gadrat, ed. and trans., *Une Image de l'Orient*, pp. 261 (text); 289 (trans.). On the Bāb al-Nūba in Latin European maps, see Seignobos, 'Nubia and Nubians in Medieval Latin Culture'.

40 *De tercia autem Yndia, dicam que non vidi, eo quod ibi non fui. Verum a fide dignis audivi mirabilia multa.* Jordanus again reiterates that he cannot say any more having not visited the land himself (*Alia de Ethiopia narrare nescio, eo quod non fui ibi*), though he claims that he had met many people from there (*Multos vidi et habui notos de partibus illis*): Gadrat, ed. and trans., *Une Image de l'Orient*, pp. 259, 261 (text), 287, 289 (trans.).

41 For example, in two letters of 1321 and 1324 Jordanus wrote of his experience in Thane (*Thana*) and Bharuch (*Parocço, Parrhot*): J. Quétif and J. Échard, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum recensiti, notisque historicis et criticis illustrati*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1719), pp. 549–50; *Annales Minorum Seu Trium Ordinum A S. Francisco Institutorum*, ed. L. Wadding, vol. 6 (Rome, 1733), pp. 359–61. His *Mirabilia* described the islands of Sri Lanka (*Sylen*) and Java (*Jana, Java*), Champa (*Champa*, in Cambodia – a later reference to kings in *Chopa* may be a

mistranscription of the same), and the kingdoms of Malabar (*Molebar*), Kodungallur (*Singuyli*), Kollam (*Columbum*), Mylapore (*Molepoor*), Telangana (*Telene*), Goa (?, *Maratha*. Goa had been known by some as *Mahassapatam* on account of it being the city of the temple of the Hindu goddess Mahalasa), and Bhatkal (*Batigala*): Gadrat, ed. and trans., *Une Image de l'Orient*, pp. 254–8 (text), 283–7 (trans.). Regrettably, Jordanus does not provide a similarly rich geography of his *Ethiopia*.

42 *Liber Peregrinationis*, ed. Monneret de Villard, Ch. 2, 32.

43 Jean de Bethencourt, *Le Canarien*, ed. Gravier, Ch. 56, pp. 90–4 (text); Jean de Bethencourt, *The Canarian*, trans. Bontier and Le Verrier, 99 (trans.).

44 John of Hildesheim, 'Historia trium regum', ed. E. Köpke, in *Mitteilungen aus den Handschriften der Ritter-Akademie zu Brandenburg*, 1 (1878), pp. 10–11, 14.

45 On this artistic development, see P. H. D. Kaplan, *The Rise of the Black Magus in Western Art* (Ann Arbor, 1985), pp. 19–78; L. Bisgaard, 'A Black Mystery. The Hagiography of the Three Magi', in *Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology*, eds. T. M. S. Lehtonen and K. Villads Jensen (Helsinki, 2005), pp. 120–38.

46 D. Jacoby, 'Pilgrimage in Crusader Acre: The Pardouns dAcre', in *De Sion exibit lex*, ed. Hen, pp. 105–17.

47 On his expansion, see Taddesse Tamrat, *Church and State*, pp. 132–45.

48 *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry, 1160/1170–1240, évêque de Saint-Jean de Acre*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Leiden, 1960), 141–53; Oliver of Paderborn, 'Historia Damiatini', ed. Hoogeweg, Ch. 55, 258 (text); Oliver of Paderborn, *Capture of Damietta*, trans. Gavigan, pp. 112–13 (trans.).

49 The clearest example is the reign of Däwit II (r. c. 1379–1413). Yemreḥanna Krestos was also said to be called David. According to the letter sent by Yəkuno ʾÄmlak to Sultan Baybars in 1274, which is only known to survive in Arabic texts, the letter was delayed because King (*malik*) David had died and his son had become king. Stuart Munro-Hay had confused this mention to refer to the contemporary Nubian *ourou* David – Munro-Hay splits this ruler into David I and David II – but David's captivity in Cairo in 1276 would suggest a punishment for his exploits at ʿAidhāb and that this was not a second ruler, thus the *ourou* not dying prior to the letter of Yəkuno ʾÄmlak. Munro-Hay's explanation would also mean that the texts portray Ethiopia as being at war with Nubia, which there is no evidence of. Instead, the Ethiopian David's death should be viewed as a regal name for Yəkuno ʾÄmlak's father; indeed, Yəkuno ʾÄmlak was referred to as the son of David in some later Ethiopian texts: al-Mufaḍḍal, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*, ed. and trans. Blochet, II:384 [220] (text and trans.); S. Munro-Hay, 'Kings and Kingdoms of Ancient Nubia', RSE, 29 (1982–3), pp. 118–19; G. W. B. Huntingford, '"The Wealth of Kings" and the End of the Zāguē Dynasty', BSOAS, 28.1 (1965), pp. Plate IV (text), 14 (trans.).

50 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tašrīf*, 156.

51 The march most likely happened around a decade earlier: M. Charles, 'The Elephants of Aksum: In Search of the Bush Elephant in Late Antiquity', *JLA*, 11.1 (2018), pp. 170n16.

52 The two most important collections of the *Al-Sihah al-Sittah* both relate the episode: *The Translations of the Meanings of Sahīh al-Bukhārī*, ed. and trans. M. Muhsin Khan, 9 vols. (Riyadh, 1997), II:383 (text and trans.); *The Translations of the Meanings of Sahīh Muslim*, ed. and trans. N. al-Khattab and H. Khattab, 7 vols. (Riyadh, 2007), VII:306 (text and trans.). See also: L. Conrad, 'Abraha and Muhammad: Some Observations Apropos of Literary 'Topoi' in the Early Arabic Historical Tradition', BSOAS, 50.2 (1987), pp. 225–40; E. van Donzel, 'Abraha the Abyssinian in Islamic Tradition', *Aethiopica*, 12 (2009), pp. 48–57.

53 T. Bibliander, *Machumetis Saracenorum principis, eiusque successorum vitae, doctrina ac ipse Alcoran* (Basel, 1543), 187. Also see T. E. Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom, 1140–1560* (Philadelphia, 2007).

54 *Itinerarium*, ed. and trans. Esposito, Ch. 41, pp. 66–7 (text and trans.).

55 Johannes de Marignolli, 'Relatio', Ch. 1, in *Sinica Franciscana: Volumen I: Itinera et Relationes Fratrum Minorum Saeculi XIII et XIV*, ed. A. van den Wyngaert (Rome, 1929), 532.

56 Marco Polo, *Description*, eds. and trans. Moule and Pelliot, Ch. 193, pp. I:434–40.

57 See I. Reginato, 'El Preste Joan i Etiòpia/Núbia a la redacció catalana del *Milió*', *Mot so razo*, 14 (2015), pp. 7–24.

58 For example, Lewy, *Der Apokalyptische Abessinier*.

59 For example, this is asserted as fact in: Brewer, *Prester John*, 321.

60 This region of the map was already badly damaged before its destruction, but it is unlikely that it contained any information to contradict de la Flamma's, and thus Carignano's, text: A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Periplus: An Essay on the Early History of Charts and Sailing-Directions: With Numerous Reproductions of Old Charts and Maps*, trans. F. A. Bather (Stockholm, 1897), pl. IX.

61 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, CPL GE B-696 (Rés).

62 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MSS Espagnol 30.

63 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Borgia XVI.

64 Falchetta, *Fra Mauro's World Map*.

65 A. Caquot, 'Le nom du roi de Rome dans le *Kebra Nagast*', in *Guirlande pour Abba Jérome: Travaux offerts à Abba Jérome Gabra Musé par ses élèves et ses amis réunis*, ed. J. Tubiana (Paris, 1983), pp. 153–66; A. Caquot, 'L'Ethiopie dans les Révélations du Pseudo-Méthode et dans le livre éthiopien de la gloire des rois', *Revue de la Société Ernest Renan*, 39 (1989–1990), pp. 53–65; A. Caquot, 'Le Kebra Nagast et les Révélations du Pseudo-Méthode', in *Études éthiopiennes: Actes du a Xᵉ conference internationale des études éthiopiennes, Paris 24–28 août 1988*, ed. C. LePage (Paris, 1994), pp. 331–5.

66 A. Grohmann, 'Die im Äthiopischen, Arabischen und Koptischen erhaltenen Visionen Apa Shenute's von Atripe', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 67 (1913), pp. 248–65 (text and trans.).

67 Grohmann, 'Die im Äthiopischen', pp. 260–3 (text and trans.).

68 B. Nogara, ed., *Scritti Inediti e Rari Di Biondo Flavio* (Rome, 1927), 23; Krebs, 'Fancy Names and Fake News'.

69 The four letters were written to Dom Manuel between 1514 and 1518 and are currently held at the Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo in Lisbon: ANTT, Colecção de cartas, Núcleo Antigo 891, mç. 1, n.° 39; ANTT, Colecção de cartas, Núcleo Antigo 891, mç. 1, n.° 40; ANTT, Colecção de cartas, Núcleo Antigo 891, mç. 1, n.° 41; ANTT, Colecção de cartas, Núcleo Antigo 891, mç. 1, n.° 42. Copies of certain correspondence from ʾƎleni to Manuel, such as that which have been preserved in a chronicle held in ʾAksum, however, do not invoke Prester John in any form, though it does direct Manuel to listen to the words of Mateus as if they were the *nəguś*' own: Sergew Hable Sellassie, 'The Ge'ez Letters', pp. 554–8.

70 Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Colecção de cartas, Núcleo Antigo 891, mç. 1, n.° 39.

71 *Liber Peregrinationis*, ed. Monneret de Villard, Ch. 2, 32; Johannes de Marignolli, 'Relatio', Ch. 1, in *Sinica Franciscana I*, ed. van den Wyngaert, 532. On the myth, see E.-D. Hecht, 'Ethiopia Threatens to Block the Nile', *Azania: Archaeological Research in Africa*, 23 (1988), pp. 1–10; S. Munro-Hay, *Ethiopia and Alexandria*, pp. 157–60; R. Pankhurst, 'Ethiopia's Alleged Control of the Nile', in *The Nile: Histories, Cultures, Myths*, eds. H. Erlich and I. Gershoni (Boulder, 2000), pp. 25–37; H. Erlich, *The Cross and the River: Ethiopia, Egypt and the Nile* (Boulder, 2014), pp. 35–8; V. Krebs, 'Crusading Threats? Ethiopian-Egyptians Relation in the 1440's', in *Croisades en Afrique*, ed. Weber, pp. 245–74. Despite the growing role of Ethiopia in Latin Christian discourse, Ethiopia did not necessarily replace Nubia as the subject of this myth immediately with Philippe de Mézières in his

c. 1389 epic *Le songe du vieil pelerine*, for instance, confusing Ethiopia's alleged control of the Nile and wrongfully attributing this ability to the king of *Nubie*: Philippe de Mézières, *Le songe du vieil pelerin*, eds. Blanchard, Calvet, and Kahn, Book I Ch. 9, pp. I:221–2.

72 John of Sultaniya's record of the 1402 embassy to Venice in c.1404, for example, notes the Ethiopian ruler's power over the Nile: A. Kern, 'Der "Libellus de Notitia Orbis" Iohannes III (De Galonifontibus) O. P. Erzbischofs von Sulthanyeh', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 8 (1938), Ch. 17, pp. 120–1. On the later Latin Christian importance placed upon the blockading of the Nile, see B. Weber, 'Bloquer le Nil pour assécher l'Égypte: un ambitieux projet de croisade?', in *Croisades en Afrique*, ed. Weber, pp. 215–44.

73 *Lettera inedita del presto Giovanni all'imperatore Carlo iv*, ed. Del Prete, pp. 9–22.

74 See G. Constable, 'Forgery and Plagiarism in the Middle Ages', *Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde*, 29 (1983), pp. 1–41, quote on 1.

75 *El libro del conoscimiento*, ed. and trans. Marino, pp. xxx–xxxi.

76 *El libro del conoscimiento*, ed. and trans. Marino, pp. 60–3 (text and trans.).

77 *Royal and Historical Letters during the Reign of Henry the Fourth, King of England and of France, and Lord of Ireland*, vol. 1, ed. F. C. Hingeston (London, 1860), pp. 421–2.

78 C. Given-Wilson, *Henry IV* (New Haven, 2016), pp. 398–9.

79 For examples of gifts associated with the 1402 embassy, see M. E. Heldman, 'A Chalice from Venice for Emperor Dāwit of Ethiopia', BSOAS, 53.3 (1990), pp. 442–5; M. Mulugetta, 'A Mechanical Clock from Venice for Emperor Dawit of Ethiopia', *Aethiopica*, 13 (2010), pp. 189–92; HPEC III.III, pp. 249–50; Krebs, *Medieval Ethiopian Kingship*, pp. 23–5.

80 Brewer, *Prester John*, 284.

81 M. Salvadore, 'The Jesuit Mission to Ethiopia (1555–1634) and the Death of Prester John', in *World-Building and the Early Modern Imagination*, ed. A. B. Kavey (New York, 2010), pp. 141–72.

5   Latin Christian Uses of Developing Knowledge of Nubia and Ethiopia

Unlike the more fragmentary source situation for how Dotawo and Bəgʷəna/ Ethiopia responded to the establishment of the Latin Christian Crusader States and the aftermath of their fall, Latin Christian sources are much more illuminating of the roles of Nubia and Ethiopia in Latin Christian discourse. Following on from the earlier chapter regarding the potential sources of knowledge, it is important to emphasise that not only did knowledge and news disseminate naturally in centres of exchange, but they were also specifically managed by individuals for a variety of reasons, such as for personal gain or self-preservation.[1] The Latin Christian management of knowledge regarding Nubia and Ethiopia swiftly began to be harnessed to inform certain goals. The networks of knowledge which flourished throughout the wider Mediterranean did not merely develop Latin Christian geographic knowledge of Christian Africa just to be chronicled for passing interest. Almost immediately, the continual accumulation of knowledge, especially regarding Nubia, became of increasing interest to the Latin papacy and to a lesser extent secular rulers, who soon sought to utilise this ever-growing corpus of new information for geopolitical aims. Specifically, the information gathered from the twelfth century formed the basis for two key increasing focuses of Latin Europe from the thirteenth century: preaching and military strategy. It was not coincidental that Nubia, and later Ethiopia, became increasingly influential in Latin Christian discourse following the fall of Jerusalem in 1187 and the need of Latin Christendom to reassert its influence in the Holy Land via desires to engage with a neighbouring regional powerful Christian ally.

Preaching

The perceived errors of Eastern Christians, as deemed by the Latin Christians, had been a common feature in the texts of the Latin Christians following the latter's arrival in the Holy Land. At first, the primary focus was on Syrians, Armenians, and Greeks before the greater diversity of Eastern Christianity began to be recognised in Latin Christian texts by the end of the twelfth century. Eastern Christians increasingly became an important Latin papal focus throughout the twelfth century, arguably embodied by the evolving

language of the first four Lateran Councils (1123–1215) which came to distinguish between 'Christians' (*Christiani*) and 'Catholics' (*Catholici*) between the first and fourth councils to adapt to an ever-growing *Orbis Christianorum* in the eyes of the Latin Christians.[2] As more and more separate Christian denominations became acknowledged in Latin Christian texts, it was not long before issues of preaching and conversions came to the forefront of Latin Christian discourse regarding the 'East' from the early thirteenth century. Jacques of Vitry, the Latin bishop of Acre between 1214 and 1229, was the most notable of the early thirteenth-century writers who discussed the perceived errors of the Eastern Christians in detail. Jacques' primary focus was on his perceived ignorance of Eastern Christians towards scripture and how Western clerics had a pastoral duty to reconcile these differences.[3] In relation to the Christian Africans, in his *Historia Orientalis* (completed. c. 1224), Jacques did not mention Ethiopians by name, but he did discuss Nubians (Christians from *Nubia*) amongst his discussion on the Jacobites more generally, as well as those more broadly from the 'parts of greater "Ethiopia"' (*magnam Ethiopie partem*) and in 'all regions until "India"' (*omnes regiones usque in Indiam*).[4] To Jacques, the African Christians were amongst the many Eastern Christian groups who had to be reconciled to the Latin rite. Indeed, the topic of the 'errors' of Nubian Christianity, for example, remained an important feature of Latin Christian texts throughout the thirteenth and into the early fourteenth century.[5] In turn, before long, both Nubia and Ethiopia became the focus of Latin Christian preachers.

Throughout the thirteenth century, the papal bull *Cum hora undecima* was repeatedly reissued following its redeclaration by Innocent IV (r. 1243–54) in 1245 – it was originally declared in 1235 by Pope Gregory IX (r. 1227–41). The bull listed a host of target Eastern nations to which Latin Christian friars were to travel to preach Latin Catholicism. Both the lands of the Nubians (*Nubianorum*) and 'Ethiopians' (*Ethyoporum* – though this would appear to mean [north-east] Africans in general) – were listed.[6] Simultaneously to the reissuing of *Cum hora undecima* by Innocent IV, a separate bull, *Cum simus super*, was also issued in 1245, which emphasised church unity, albeit under the primacy of Rome. Unlike the former, however, the latter only addressed the Nubians in its long list of Eastern Christians without any mention of Ethiopia or 'Ethiopia', whether Abyssinia or north-east Africa more generally.[7] It would appear that Ethiopia remained a largely distant kingdom in the eyes of the Latin Christians at first, emphasising the fact that the earlier Latin Christian focus was centred on Nubia. Soon after, a bull issued to the Dominicans in 1253 listed the Nubians (*Nubianorum*) and 'Ethiopians' (*Ethyopum* – again [north-east] Africans more generally) as targeted realms in which to preach.[8] These proclamations began a period between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries which witnessed attempts at integrating both Nubia and Ethiopia into the Latin *Orbis Christianus* with varying results.[9]

Most commonly, the Franciscan (founded 1209) and Dominican (founded 1216) Orders conducted much of the preaching. Both are more famed for their operations in Asia, but they did also conduct missionary activity in

Africa too.[10] The success of many of these ventures, both in their outcomes and their practicality, has often been questioned, especially when compared to the narrative of the orders in Asia. Before turning to the question of their preaching success, the fundamental question remains: would preachers have been able to travel to either Nubia or Ethiopia? Most direct references to Latin Christians appearing in either Nubia or Ethiopia only date from the fourteenth century, yet earlier attempts were certainly possible despite the relatively late creation of the African jurisdiction of the *Societas Fratrum Peregrinantium* in 1349. The travels of Roger of Howden in the Red Sea region in the late twelfth century, whilst not a preacher, would indicate that the ability to travel was not necessarily a hindrance. For example, Roger had arrived at ʿAidhāb after traversing the well-used Qūṣ-ʿAidhāb desert road following his initial journey up the Nile from Alexandria.[11] The ability for Latin Christians to travel in and beyond Egypt should not be seen as being limited to only the major centres of Alexandria and Cairo during the crusading period. Navigating by the stars to traverse African deserts – in broader 'Ethiopia' (*Ethiopie*) – was certainly a tool used by Latin Christians, as noted in the early thirteenth century by Gervase of Tilbury (fl. c.1209–14) and specifically mentioned by Angelo da Spoleto on his journey to Cairo in 1303–4, for instance.[12] Even without any specific navigational training, the employment of guides was always a possibility. The case of Beneseg, which we will soon come to, is testament that Latin Christians could reach the Nubian capital during this period.

The fact that Latin Christians attempted to reach Nubia and Ethiopia has not particularly been in doubt. Instead, the doubt has come in modern historiography over whether any preachers actually reached the African kingdoms, particularly prior to the onset of the fifteenth century. Taking a positivist outlook, Marshall Baldwin has argued that successful missions should not necessarily be dismissed given the increased references to both Nubia and 'Ethiopia' in papal missionary letters as intended targets.[13] Indeed, Jean Richard specifically suggested that the creation of the jurisdiction of Africa for the *Societas Fratrum Peregrinantium* in 1349 would have likely further nurtured contacts with Ethiopia decades before the arrival of the 1402 Ethiopian embassy to Venice.[14] Here I would also add the nurturing of contact with Nubia, too. This may have been the case regarding the news reaching the King of Aragon of a Minorite friar who had 'lived many years in the realm of Prester John' being hosted in the Kingdom of Navarre and Aragon in 1391. Ethiopian sources suggest that the early fifteenth-century embassies were launched following acquiring information about Latin Europe from 'Franks' in Ethiopia, which resulted in the arrival of the 1402 embassy to Venice led by the Florentine Antonio Bartoli, so it remains possible that the Minorite friar had actually resided in Nubia.[15] It would otherwise be somewhat surprising if an active Latin friar in Ethiopia had not similarly been questioned much earlier into Däwit II's reign, which had begun in c. 1379, to inspire the sending of an earlier embassy than that of Bartoli. A resident friar would surely have expressed the knowledge that Däwit sought – namely, in

relation to relics located in Latin Europe – many years before if he had been known to have been in Däwit's land during the early years of his reign. Unless, of course, the friar resided there prior to c. 1379. In the case of the *Societas Fratrum Peregrinantium* it has not, however, been asked whether the creation of this jurisdiction was the cause or effect of possible successful missions reaching either Nubia or Ethiopia. Certainly, the Latin Christian knowledge of Dotawo's capital of Dongola (*Ducala*) no later than 1282 by Ristoro d'Arezzo highlights that relevant geographical knowledge was in circulation to facilitate targeted travels.[16] Moreover, the increasing focus on Nubia in Latin Christian discourse more generally would suggest the existence of a whole realm of uncodified knowledge which accompanied the very limited surviving textual discussions, or even passing notice, of specific locations within the region such as found in d'Arezzo's text. Once again, Nubian and Ethiopian evidence is too limited and largely ignores or does not attest to pre-fifteenth-century exchanges within their respective kingdoms to offer further light on the matter.

Evidence of the early successes of Latin Christian preaching in Africa is limited. However, closer ties between the Latin Church and the Eastern Churches were seemingly being fostered during the 1230s and 40s, largely due to the efforts of the Dominican Provincial Prior, Philip, who appears to have established Jerusalem as the base of his mission.[17] In 1237, Philip wrote to Pope Gregory IX about his attempts at facilitating similar unity with the other Eastern patriarchs akin to that which had been developing with the Jacobite Patriarch, Ignatius II (1222–52). The Coptic Patriarch Kyril III ibn Laqlaq (r. 1235–43) was described as having jurisdiction over 'minor India', *Ethiopia* (Nubia), 'Libya' (*Libia*), and Egypt; of which it was stated that the *Ethiopes* and 'Libyans' (*Libii*) were not subject to the rule of the Muslims.[18] The 'Ethiopians' and 'Libyans' in question presumably referred to Nubians and Ethiopians, though no further clarity is provided. Building on what King Amalric had already known by 1173, additional material, such as a late-thirteenth-century document now located in the Escorial which lists the *Abastini* amongst the *Copti*, *Nubi*, and *Indiani* as those under the jurisdiction of the Coptic patriarch, emphasises that the structure of the African Church was well-known to the Latin Christians by this point.[19] Confirmation of Nubia's independence from the Muslims would prove to be particularly important to the Latin Christians in the following decades. Church unity was both potentially religiously and politically advantageous if Philip were to be successful.

Kyril, however, was primarily concerned with consolidating his office's power following his succession after the Coptic See's vacancy since 1216 and was not overly concerned with offers from the Latin Christians.[20] One notable event actually threatened to undo any positive strides between the churches. During Kyril's patriarchate, Ethiopia was in need of a new abun to lead the Ethiopian Church, yet Kyril was reluctant to send one as was customary. According to the contemporary *continuation* of the *History of the Patriarchs*, he feared that sending a new abun would enable Ethiopia to become more 'Greek' (روم *Rūm*), which would lead them to becoming disobedient to both

him and the sultan.[21] Kyril's proclamation may not necessarily be viewed as reflecting any possible connection between Ethiopians and 'Greeks', however, as this was often an allegation against those who were perceived to be heretical to the Coptic tradition.[22] Moreover, Kyril's reluctance to send a new abun also ensured the support of the sultan for Kyril and his actions, as it aimed to maintain the Egyptian position to manipulate such matters for their own political motivations too. In any case, this quarrel led to an Ethiopian, an otherwise unknown metropolitan named Thomas, appearing in the Holy Land sometime between 1237–9 or 1241–2 wanting to be consecrated by the Jacobite Patriarch Ignatius III David of Antioch, despite that ability being solely reserved for the Coptic patriarch.[23] This conflict between the Eastern Churches was not welcomed by senior Latin Christians in Jerusalem, notably the Templars and Hospitallers, who were outraged at Ignatius' actions as it threatened the power balance in the Holy Land. It was important to the Latin Christians to not anger the Coptic patriarch by creating tensions with the recently installed Coptic bishop in Jerusalem (from 1237), as he had the potential ability to influence the Egyptian sultan against the Latin Christians.[24] After all, the Latin Christian presence in Jerusalem was delicately balanced following its brief recapture between 1241 and 1244 after a decade of the city being reclaimed by the Latin Christians between 1229 and 1239 as a result of the truce of the Sixth Crusade. The swift response by the Latin authorities against Ignatius highlights the ambition of maintaining important positive relations with the Coptic patriarch, not least to act as a favourable intermediary with the Egyptian sultan. As such, Latin Christian engagement during this period with the Coptic patriarch appears to have centred on the notion of self-preservation, rather than in hope of facilitating contact with either Nubia or Ethiopia. However, did any hope for Latin Christian engagement with either Nubia or Ethiopia have to rely on the favour of the Coptic patriarch?

Regarding either Nubia or Ethiopia, the earliest Latin Christian reference to a successful mission appears in a letter sent by Pope Clement IV (r. 1265–8) in 1267 to the Dominicans in relation to preaching in the lands of the *Aethiopum* (meaning the region of north-east Africa) and Nubians (*Nubianorum*), amongst others. The letter directed them to utilise the knowledge of Brother Vasinpace who was said to have travelled to these places previously.[25] No other evidence attests to, or casts doubt on, Vasinpace's successful travels, with Jean Richard accepting Clement's claim outright.[26] Further missions were planned. In September 1288, Nicholas IV sent a letter to brothers preaching in the *terras infidelium*, in both non-Christian and Christian lands, who were not subject to the pope. The missionaries were urged 'to convert and unite them to the Christian faith, receive and baptise them, and add them as children to the prevailing Church' (*converti ad unitatem christiane fidei cupientes, recipere, baptizare et aggregare ecclesie filiis valeatis*).[27] Furthermore, in July 1289, Nicholas IV sent letters to each of the patriarchs, bishops, and 'other prelates' of the Jacobites, Nestorians, Georgians, Armenians, the *archiepiscopo Ethiopiae*, and *episcopis et aliis*

Ethiopiae praelatis praising the Christian world whilst alluding to a sense of ecumenicalism.[28] This ecumenical desire by the Latin Christians is further compounded in additional letters sent in 1289 to the people of 'Ethiopia' (*populo Ethiopiae*), the emperor of 'Ethiopia' (*imperatori Ethiopiae*), all the Nestorian peoples, Demetry, king of *Georgiae*, and David, king of *Yberorum*, seeking a Christian union.[29] Any lack of Latin Christian engagement with Nubia was certainly not through lack of trying or desire. By the latter decades of the thirteenth century, there was a concerted Latin Christian effort to engage with Nubia and, to a lesser extent initially, Ethiopia.

The fourteenth century witnessed an increased vigour for Latin Christian preaching in Nubia. John of Montecorvino was said to have travelled to 'Ethiopia' during his preaching in India sometime around 1305/6 as a result of supposedly being requested by 'Ethiopians'. It is unknown who exactly these supposed 'Ethiopians' were if, indeed, this was not a rhetorical ploy by John to overstate his preaching successes.[30] A decade later, eight Dominicans were said to have left Egypt to preach in the lands of the *Aetiopes* (Nubia) and the *Abissinos* in 1316, possibly in connection with the arrival of the Nubian 'Ethiopian' embassy between 1300 until an unknown date after 1314 to be discussed in the next chapter. The Dominican mission does not appear in any Nubian or Ethiopian sources and is only known through later Latin Christian sources, which has led some historians to question its validity, though wider contextual evidence lends support to it.[31] The successful arrival of this mission is unknown, yet it is perhaps notable that by the following year, the Christian *ourou* had been replaced with a Muslim – *Ourou* David II's (r. c. 1268–c. 76) nephew, Baršanbū – by the Mamlūks who himself was usurped within the year by the Kanz al-Dawla Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, during a period which also witnessed the cathedral of Dongola converted into a mosque.[32] It remains possible that these events are related, if not directly linked. When exactly the missionaries arrived is unknown, but in late 1329, Pope John XXII (r. 1316–34) sent a letter to the 'magnificent Emperor of "Ethiopia"' (*Magnifico viro Imperatori Aethiopum*), possibly upon hearing of the succession of the Christian *ourou* Siti, which appears to praise the otherwise unnamed ruler for his treatment of some preachers, presumably those who had left earlier in 1316.[33] The Kanz al-Dawla still claimed rulership over Dongola in 1333 but the date of Siti's succession remains unclear as he is attested from at least 1331. There would appear to have been yet another period of contestation over the Dotawon throne. Whilst no direct connection can be established, it is particularly notable that Pope John was the same pope who had received Marino Sanudo's crusade treatise, which highlighted the military importance of the Nubians, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

There is one tantalising inscription which has been uncovered at the church at Banganarti, across from the capital of Dotawo, Dongola. Dated to between c. 1250 and c. 1350, the graffito is written in Provençal and attests to nothing more than an otherwise unknown Beneseg's presence in Dotawo during the period of the Dominican mission.[34] The graffito is located in the chapel of Archangel Raphael. It is unclear as to what or who the graffito is precisely

aimed at but if it was directed at the Archangel, it would fit with the role of the Archangel as being the protector of pilgrims, if Beneseg was even one.[35] The placement of the graffito also provides circumstantial evidence for a possible Dominican background of either Beneseg or if he was a companion to the main group. The graffito is neatly placed amongst the surrounding Greek and Old Nubian graffiti, which suggests an active respectful desire to not write over those left by others. Such understanding of the texts would imply that Beneseg or his companions either understood these languages in some capacity or, at least, respected the other graffiti. In relation to the 1316 mission, it is noteworthy that the preachers were Dominicans who, by order of their General Chapter since 1236, were required to learn the languages of the peoples that they preached to, thus providing them with such possible linguistic knowledge which would explain the thoughtful placement of the graffito.[36] Regrettably, evidence for Latin Christian learning of African languages prior to their systematic study from the sixteenth century is extremely limited, despite certain logical conclusions which can be derived as a result of consistent engagement and interaction, especially in the Holy Land. Whilst inconclusive, was Beneseg in some way connected to the Dominican mission?

The 1316 mission's ultimate success appears to have resulted in the ordaining of Bishop Tivoli as bishop of Dongola in 1330, at least as far as the Latin Christians were concerned.[37] There is no other evidence for Tivoli's tenure or even that he took up residence in Nubia other than a note by Francisco Álvarez in the early sixteenth century who stated that it was because of the death of a bishop from Rome (presumably to be linked to Tivoli) in Nubia and the subsequent restriction imposed by Mamlūk Egypt on Nubia against receiving another Latin bishop which caused the loss of Christianity in Nubia by his time.[38] The residence of Bishop Tivoli remains contested in scholarship. For example, Carlo Conti Rossini rejected the bishop's presence outright, whilst John Phillips has suggested that it was a confusion for Bishop Bartolomeo da Podio of Maragha in Iran. Neither of which, however, acknowledge Álvarez's statement.[39] Bishop Tivoli certainly became symbolic in the later decades of the Portuguese presence in Ethiopia. According to the Spanish Dominican Luis de Urreta in 1611, Tivoli had also founded a monastery in Təgray in northern Ethiopia.[40] There is no contemporary evidence at all for this. If anything, such a claim only serves to attest to the historicity of Bishop Tivoli's residence in Nubia for any claim of his apparent actions in Ethiopia to have had any credibility. Luis de Urreta's own authorial motives are important. His account was specifically written with the intention to highlight the earlier Dominican presence in Ethiopia before the arrival of the now dominant Jesuits so that the Dominicans could gain increased favour as the 'original' preachers in Ethiopia. His association between Tivoli and Ethiopia otherwise holds no historical merit.

Evidence for how far these Latin Christian missions were successful in their aims or even their capabilities may remain circumstantial and debatable. However, it is clear that the Latin Christians certainly had the intention to

engage with the Christians of north-east Africa. In terms of Ethiopia, however, it remained secondary to Nubia, and there is no evidence, circumstantial or otherwise, of Latin Christian preachers arriving in Ethiopia during the period in question without an anachronistic misunderstanding of 'Ethiopia' in the Latin Christian sources despite their otherwise intended desires. Whilst Ethiopia was not completely ignored as a destination for the Latin Christians, it would appear to have remained a desire rather than a reality. The contrasting results of the 1316 Dominican mission to Nubia and Ethiopia would seemingly attest to this. Preaching was not merely limited to reconciling the theological differences between different Christians with the Latin Christian rite either. Every attempt at reaching out to Nubia, and to the lesser extent Ethiopia, by the Latin Christians continued to increase Mamlūk wariness of the possibility of a Nubian-Latin Christian alliance. Even though the potential success of engagements as a result of preaching may not necessarily appear connected to military endeavours, their results and feasibility added to the hopes of the Latin Christians. Even before preaching expanded in the second half of the thirteenth century, Latin Christian military desires for Nubia had been circulating. The missions only served to strengthen these desires.

The Latin Christian Need for Military Aid

From the earliest years of the Crusader States, the Latin Christians were in need of constant military support from Western Europe. As this did not always prove fruitful, increasingly, Eastern Christians, most notably the Byzantines, began to be considered as potential allies as the twelfth century wore on. Christian Africans took a slower trajectory in Latin Christian military discourse despite rumours of both Nubian and 'Abyssinian' power from the early thirteenth century. It was only towards the end of the century, however, that the Nubians became the first of the two to be considered as potential allies by the Latin Christians. Certain Eastern Christians were wary of provoking the Fāṭimids if they were seen to be actively cooperating with the Latin Christians, particularly in areas closer to Egypt. This was explicitly recorded in relation to Baldwin I's (r. 1100–18) expedition to the Red Sea in 1116, for instance, where he was said to have been persuaded not to travel to St. Catherine's monastery in Sinai by its resident monks, who most, if not all, were Eastern Christians, out of fear of angering the Fāṭimids as it was only four days' march from there to Cairo.[41] The presence of Baldwin may have been perceived as an active threat to the Fāṭimids with the monks being viewed as collaborators, which they actively wanted to avoid.

It is not clear whether the early twelfth-century Latin Christian relationship with the Red Sea was the cause or result of initial developing knowledge. Even though King Baldwin I extended the Kingdom of Jerusalem towards the Red Sea in the latter years of his reign, only Fulcher of Chartres of the early crusade writers makes any notice of the geography of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. Following the chronicling of Baldwin's expedition, Fulcher

made a brief tract on the Red Sea but with no knowledge that can be viewed as particularly novel beyond what can be gleaned from classical sources, offering no detail on the sea's major ports, for instance.[42] Indeed, according to Albert of Aachen, King Baldwin I only became acquainted with St. Catherine's Monastery at Sinai as a result of his expedition to the Red Sea in 1116.[43] The building of the castles at Montréal and Li Vaux Moise, the first entirely new fortresses built by the Latin Christians since their arrival, would suggest that they felt their engagement with the Red Sea was, or would become, important.[44] Moreover, the Latin Christian presence and settlement in the Petra region between Jerusalem and the Red Sea during the twelfth century would further portray a Kingdom of Jerusalem that was very attuned to its surroundings and the potential avenues to wealth via the trade routes to the south.[45] The Latin Christian presence on the island of Jazīrat Firʿawn near Aqaba, known to the Latin Christians as Ile de Graye, is the most direct evidence of at least some Latin Christian interest in the sea, even if what interest this may have been is not overtly clear in the surviving sources. The Latin Christian presence had a *terminus ante quem* of 1171 when the island was conquered by Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn, though the date of its establishment remains debatable. Traditionally, scholarship has dated the Latin Christian presence at Ile de Graye to be contemporaneous with the building of Montréal and Li Vaux Moise (from 1116). However, Hans Eberhard Mayer has dated this presence to not before 1134 on account of an apparent reference to a Fāṭimid governor at Aqaba in a *firmān* from the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥāfiz to the monks at Sinai in that year.[46] Denys Pringle has urged further caution and dated to the presence to not before 1154 owing to al-ʾIdrīsī's reference of that year to the island being populated and controlled by Arabs.[47] It is possible that Ile de Graye co-existed with the Muslim port of Aqaba, located 15 km apart, but it would otherwise appear likely that the Latin fortress was built in the 1160s during the multiple Latin Christian expeditions to Egypt. Archaeology has yet to provide significant proof of a more specific date either. Simply, the scale of an established Latin Christian presence on the shores of the Red Sea during the twelfth century remains an open question.

Beyond the question of the Latin Christian military presence at Ile de Graye, there is suggestive evidence of their engagement with Red Sea trade more broadly. Despite limited sources attesting directly to Latin Christian involvement in the Red Sea trade, increasing engagement can be arguably witnessed in the appearance of the mentioning of the key port of ʿAidhāb in some Latin Christian texts in the second half of the twelfth century.[48] Certainly, Roger of Howden travelled to ʿAidhāb during his travels in the latter third of the twelfth century.[49] How expansive the Latin Christian engagement with the Red Sea trade was is currently difficult to determine based on current evidence, as other important ports do not appear in Latin Christian texts for at least another two centuries.[50] Nevertheless, the increased Fāṭimid interest in the Red Sea from the beginning of the twelfth century suggests a wariness over the developing competition between Egypt and the newly established Crusader States over Red Sea trade, especially on account of its economic

importance to Egypt for funding any maintained war effort.[51] Whatever the case, it would appear that any Latin Christian engagement with the Red Sea remained relatively confined to the sea's northern half. This would appear to be suggested by the fact that the origins of goods which were acquired indirectly from East Africa – such as rock crystal, which was used in churches for decoration throughout Latin Christendom – did not produce similar documenting of more southerly ports.[52] This more northerly focus may also explain the initial Latin Christian interest in Nubia, rather than Ethiopia. Ethiopia's key port of Sawākin, which is roughly 370 km directly south of ʿAidhāb, for instance, is not noted during this early period in any surviving text penned by a Latin Christian. The focus on ʿAidhāb is particularly notable when we consider Reynald of Châtillon's Red Sea 'raid' of 1182–3, to be discussed later in this chapter, which specifically targeted the port.

The Latin Christian presence at Aqaba, no matter how brief, and their engagement with the Red Sea trade is significant when viewed alongside the activity of Nubians and Ethiopians in the Red Sea. For example, ʿAidhāb is noted as the principal terminus for traders from the two 'Ethiopias' trading between the Red Sea and Alexandria in the thirteenth-century Old French continuation of William of Tyre, which likely reflected much earlier knowledge.[53] Moreover, *Ethiopia* was recorded in the early thirteenth century by the German pilgrim Thietmar as being an active component of the Red Sea trade.[54] It would have been extraordinarily unlikely that Latin Christians avoided all interaction with Nubians and Ethiopians in the wider Red Sea region. Ethiopian or Nubian traffic through Aqaba would be notable given the Latin Christian presence there during part of the twelfth century for fostering interactions. For instance, Nubian and Ethiopian pilgrimage routes to the Holy Land have been presumed to have been undertaken primarily along the Nile, especially as Red Sea routes are attested much later in sources, but this may also have included a Red Sea route via ʿAidhāb throughout the period in question here. Certainly, ʿAidhāb was of enough importance to warrant its sacking by *ourou* David II in 1272, and it is noteworthy that later sources state that many inhabitants of ʿAidhāb fled to Dongola after it was sacked by the Mamlūk sultan Barsbay in 1426, possibly reflecting the connections built through trade and pilgrimage.[55] Indeed, the archaeological evidence from the monastery of Apa Dioscuros indicating the expansion of the facilities for accommodating pilgrims in Lower Nubia in the eleventh century would actually indicate an increasing number of Nubian pilgrims at least travelling north of the kingdom during the period in question who would likely have taken both Red Sea and Nilotic routes.[56] In the case of Ethiopians, there is similarly little contemporary evidence for their use of a Red Sea route for pilgrimage. However, two ʾAksumite coins dating to the late seventh or early eighth centuries found at Aqaba and later Ethiopian sources revealing to the Venetian Alessandro Zorzi in the early sixteenth century that pilgrims travelled to the Holy Land using a sea route between Sawākin and Sinai – presumably via Aqaba (the itinerary only states a 'castle by the sea' (*castel a marina*) called Coser, presumably reflecting an understanding of the generic Gəʿəz *qaṣr/qəṣr*, 'fortress') – would suggest a case for an overall

continual use of this route.[57] An Ethiopian inscription left in the Wādī Ḥajjaj in eastern Sinai by one ʾAgaton, a monk from the otherwise unknown monastery of Däbrä Manz (?), which has been dated to before the seventh century, is further suggestive of an historic pilgrimage route via the peninsula which most likely operated through the Aqaban Peninsula.[58] It is no coincidence that Latin Christian engagement with the Red Sea, both economically and militarily, also coincided with early developing interest in the military prowess of Nubia and Ethiopia.

Importantly, this military interest was the focus of writers who were both resident in the Holy Land or had travelled there and also those who had not left Western Europe. The latter is of particular note as it would indicate that this information was actively sought. This appears to have been the case in the universal *Chronica* (wr. finished c. 1174) of the Benedictine Cluniac monk Richard of Poitiers. In his text, the following passage appears:

> Regarding the King of Morocco, who is called the King of Assyria, and the King of Bugie, and the King of Numidia, and of Libya and of Cyrene, and the King of *Ethiopum* we have rarely heard so few things that we are almost completely unaware of what is happening there.… This is because Christianity has been expelled from those lands by the false teaching of Muḥammad and [so] those people have cut themselves off from the Roman Empire and from the Christian faith.… Similarly we know very little about the Sultan of Persia because his land is very distant, and is cut off from us by religion and language, though they do say that there are Christian kings beyond the lands of the Medes and Persians and the Macedonians [who their people call bishops and kings] … [who] strongly attack the pagan nations in those parts whose fame has reached all the way to us. We have also heard that the King of Georgia and the King of *Nubianorum* do the same.… This was the state of human affairs in the year of the Incarnate Word 1172.[59]

The king of 'Ethiopia' should be seen as a generic description for an African Muslim ruler with no relation to the highland Christian kingdom. The King of Nubia, however, is clearly presented as a warring ruler who was fighting a Christian fight which had become known far beyond the region. Whether this king was just heard to have been fighting Egypt or with other regional powers is unclear. In any case, the dating of 1172 is significant for reflecting upon the development of Nubia in Latin Christian discourse. Richard began writing his *Chronica* in 1156 with a dedication to Peter the Venerable, thus suggesting that the text was developed over a c. 18-year period. However, information regarding Nubia was only provided in a narrow two-year period towards the end of the text, as Nubia does not appear in relation to any events prior to 1172. Not only does the passage arguably reflect growing Latin Christian interest in Nubia by Richard's active decision to insert the narrative, but it could also possibly specifically reflect the contemporary state of affairs surrounding the events of Tūrānshāh's raid of 1172–3, especially if, as Abū

Šāma (wr. c. 1240s) noted, the raid was in retaliation for a Nubian attack at Aswan.[60] Whether the noting of the Nubian king's conflicts against 'pagans' was reflecting specific knowledge of events or was a general description, he was clearly portrayed in a position of strength.

More importantly for the relevance of Richard's writing process, although information regarding Nubia likely travelled to Latin Europe earlier than the 1170s to supplement the cartographical information found in Hugh of St. Victor's c. 1130 *Descriptio*, Richard was the first to project this knowledge as evidence of Nubian power in the known surviving Latin Christian corpus. This can be seen as an active decision by Richard as not only was the information received late in the production of his work but also his listed sources – Isidore, Theodolfus, Josephus, Hegesippus, Eutropius, Titus Livy, Suetonius, Aimoinus, Justinus, Freculphus, Orosius, Anastasius, Anneus Florus, Gregory, Bede, Ado, Gildas, Paul the monk, and 'of a few others' (*et quorumdam aliorum*) – would not have provided the framework for reflecting the contemporary power of Christian Nubia, as none of these writers were contemporary themselves.[61] Dominique Iogna-Prat has argued that the extension of Richard's work would not have been out of character for Peter the Venerable's own fear of the confrontation with Islam against a disunited church, particularly with the text focusing on Islam's geographical advancement towards Christian realms.[62] It is possible, therefore, that Richard actively sought such information regarding the strength of Christian Nubia in support of the motivations behind his chronicle, suggesting that the insertion of the passage including Nubia's king was not by accident. Whether Richard sought or passively received such information is uncertain, but it does highlight how the knowledge networks of the East were disseminating contemporary knowledge of north-east Africa far and wide amongst Latin Christians and how this informed Latin Christian discourse towards the wider Holy Land/Egypt region.

Nubia was not alone in being recorded as a strong regional power in the latter half of the twelfth century. There is also at least one first-hand Latin Christian account of tensions in the wider region regarding Ethiopia. A text attributed to Roger of Howden places him active in the Red Sea in the final third of the twelfth century where he reported information that he had heard. Interestingly, contrary to the focus on Nubia, Roger's text is a rare example of an early focus on Ethiopia. Notably, Roger correctly identified Ethiopia's contemporary continual tensions with Aden, whose ruler he called *Melec Sanar* (*malik* of Sana'a), and, more intriguingly, identified Ethiopia's (*Abitis*: his understanding of *Ḥabaš*) ruler as King John long before any associations with the kingdom and Prester John.[63] As no ruler went by that name, the most likely explanation would appear to be that Roger mistook the Gəʿəz word *ǧan* (᎓ᎍ, 'majesty') for the Venetian personal name *Gian* (or *Zane*) during interactions with Ethiopians at some point on his journey. Indeed, this possible origin for the name of the later Prester John was proposed by Constantin Marinescu a century ago.[64] This period is also notable for Ethiopian regional conflict, particularly towards the Red Sea, as illustrated by a land grant by the twelfth-century *ḥaḍe* Ṭanṭawədəm to the church at Ura Mäsqäl in Təgray, which alludes to his victories over nearby Muslims,

presumably in locations towards the Red Sea.[65] Even into the thirteenth century, Ethiopia made another rare appearance in the Latin Christian corpus in this vain. For instance, the pilgrim Thietmar noted during his pilgrimage between 1217 and 1218 how the *Issini* frequently fought against the Egyptians and that its ruler was able to march on Cairo and remove every brick if he so wished – though this was likely a conflation with contemporary rumours of Nubia.[66] Despite this, however, Latin Christian interest in, or even knowledge of, Ethiopia remained secondary to Nubia.

Little else appears of note in the Latin Christian sources for the remainder of the twelfth century, including regarding the supposed 'raid' of Reynald of Châtillon on ʿAidhāb in 1182–3. Motives for the expedition are unclear, as almost all testimonies to the event are by Muslim writers who emphasised the threat posed by the ability of the Latin Christians to reach Mecca. In comparison, the event is only described in two short lines in the late twelfth-century *Chronicle* of Ernoul, which merely noted that the event happened but without explanation and that nothing more was known of its participants.[67] The expedition has traditionally been viewed as a raid due to modern opinion of Reynald which has emphasised his independent nature and his likeliness to be a threat to both the Crusader States and to Muslims simultaneously.[68] However, Reynald has equally been deemed to have committed himself to the Crusader cause for the remaining years of his life following his release from captivity in Aleppo in 1176.[69] The expedition itself is considered a failure considering the lack of Latin Christian attention paid to documenting it. Yet, did the 'raid' fail? Importantly, if viewed as part of a wider plan, such as to divert Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn's attentions away from Syria, the expedition could even be said to have been somewhat of a success, as it successfully did distract Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn from any further advances for the following two years as he tried and failed to capture Reynald.[70] Similar attention paid to Arabia by Reynald would suggest a concerted interest in the region.[71] If this was the case, viewing the expedition as part of a wider Latin Christian strategy, or even the specific endeavours of Reynald, begs the question of the role of Latin Christian knowledge of the Red Sea. It is more than likely that the focus on ʿAidhāb was not accidental and can even be suggested to have directly correlated with burgeoning Latin Christian knowledge of Nubia and Ethiopia.[72] Regrettably, no contemporary African sources survive to reveal either a Nubian or Ethiopian perspective on what they knew of the activities of the Latin Christians in the Red Sea.

Muslim sources explicitly mention that Reynald's fleet attacked ʿAidhāb, yet this poses the question of where this actually was. Exploratory fieldwork by David and Andrew Peacock has not found a viable port at ʿAidhāb other than at Halaib, 20 km to its south.[73] If this was the case, it remains unclear whether the Latin Christians arrived at the port or at the town. Moreover, even the framing of the fleet as an aggressor may be problematic in light of the one-sided surviving evidence. Any conflict at ʿAidhāb may have been secondary and not the original intention. For example, the fleet may have arrived looking to enquire about the port's access to gold with relations only turning sour possibly after some form of internal conflict. Since the 1170s, Egypt had

begun to debase its gold coins as a gold crisis affected the economy, which Amar Baadj has specifically connected to Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn's early aggressive politics towards Nubia, its principal gold market after the Fāṭimid loss of North Africa.[74] William of Tyre was certainly amongst contemporaries to note the importance of the gold trade to Egypt, and the numismatic evidence would also suggest that the Latin Christians were well-aware of the gold crisis as the fineness of gold coins from the Crusader States decreased during this time due to disruptions in gold supply.[75] The Latin Christians certainly had a material and political motive to attack important ports, but why did they choose ʿAidhāb? Any Latin Christian involvement in the Red Sea trade would likely have fostered knowledge of the African coast. For instance, it was widely known by Red Sea navigators that the Arabian shoals were much more difficult to navigate than those on the African side of the sea, thus making ʿAidhāb a premeditated and more easily navigable 'target'.[76] The lack of an 'attack' on other significant ports such as Sawākin and Bāḍiʿ would suggest that the Latin Christian engagement with ʿAidhāb, in whatever form it took, was premeditated and built on developing knowledge of the region.

ʿAidhāb's connections with Nubia may be of note here. ʿAidhāb was known to be a route of twelfth-century Fāṭimid trade to Nubia, whilst the traders from the two 'Ethiopias' (*Ethiopes*), noted by the *continuation* of William of Tyre, trading in pepper (*poivre*), spices (*espices*), ointments (*oignemenz*), electuaries (*lectuaires*), precious stones (*pierres precieuses*), silks (*dras de soie*), and other many things (*pluseurs choses*) between ʿAidhāb and Alexandria were most likely Nubians.[77] The extent of the political authority of Dotawo towards the Red Sea is not fully known. Yet, the inconsistent description of the local rule at ʿAidhāb by Muslim writers may suggest a more direct Nubian role with the port. During his travels through the port in 1183, Ibn Jubayr described ʿAidhāb as having its own sultan and that its population were apparently Muslim Beja (البجه: *al-Bujah*).[78] Significantly, some contemporary Muslim writers actually associate the Beja with Nubians, whilst others distinguished the two, as well as the Ethiopians, to suggest that they were three independent kingdoms, with others noting that they were in fact Christian.[79] With this confusion in the texts, it remains possible that Ibn Jubayr's 'sultan' may have been a Nubian eparch or even a lesser Nubian political official who was viewed to have a lot of local power surrounding ʿAidhāb, despite his claim that the 'sultan' occasionally met the Egyptian governor to pledge obedience to him. Nubian evidence remains elusive but *ourou* David II's attack on the port in 1272 may have been the result of the loss of Nubian influence over the port over the following century. Furthermore, in relation to the gold crisis of the 1170s, it was also said by Muslim writers that the important ʿAllaqī gold mines situated between ʿAidhāb and the Egyptian-Nubian border at the First Cataract were in the country of the Beja, which, given other confusions, could readily have been misconstrued as belonging to Nubia.[80] ʿAidhāb may not have been a wholly random focus of Reynald's fleet after all. Too little is known about the expedition to take this suggestion much further, but it would appear clear that the fleet was the result of Reynald's focus on the wider region and the

combination of his personal ambition and wider Latin Christian knowledge.[81] The expedition was much more than a fleet consisting of wandering rogues or even necessarily intent on sacking Mecca as Muslim writers feared. What, then, were they doing, and could it have had something to do with burgeoning knowledge of Nubia? Currently, evidence is inconclusive. Whatever the case, it would appear that the Latin Christians were not ignorant of the situation in north-east Africa and what it could mean for their regional interests.

Incorporating Nubia into Crusader Strategy from the Thirteenth Century

Moving into the thirteenth century, Latin Christians became much more explicit about the potential importance of Nubia for their regional strategy. Nubia's most obvious benefit to the Latin Christians was its position in relation to Egypt. However, when major crusading expeditions were directed towards Egypt from the Fifth Crusade (1217–21), there was no clear evidence of any Latin Christian attempts at collaboration. This was despite the growing knowledge of Nubia's regional prowess and Latin Christian planning in relation to Egypt for the crusade. For example, Pope Innocent III (r. 1198–1216) communicated several times with the Melkite patriarch of Alexandria, Nicholas I (r. 1210–43), prior to 1217, including inviting him to attend the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215), yet consistent relations with the Coptic patriarch, John VI (r. 1189–1216), remained elusive. Communication between the Latin papacy and Nicholas survived the failed crusade, but the Coptic See remained vacant between 1216 and 1235, restricting relations with the broader Coptic Church, and, most importantly, with the potential ecclesiastical link to the Nubians (or Ethiopians). The absence of clear interactions with the Copts in the planning of the crusade helps to explain the character of the circulating myth of the Nubian king during the siege of Damietta. As Benjamin Weber has suggested, it may have been the case that the Latin Christians were purposefully introduced to Nubian power by Copts during the Fifth Crusade.[82] The papacy was seemingly ignorant of this narrative prior to the crusade. In which case, such reasoning would also suggest that information regarding Nubia circulating in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries remained largely too decentralised, which inhibited its use in large-scale crusade planning. The Coptic Church did seemingly hold the key in the earlier period for facilitating official interactions between the Latin Christians and the Nubians, though it appears that Copts, at least those in positions of authority, largely did not want to have been party to anything that could destabilise their position in Egypt with their Muslim rulers. Furthermore, even when the Coptic See had a patriarch in later decades, there is no evidence of Latin Christian attempts to engage with Nubia, or even Ethiopia, prior to the next crusade to specifically target Egypt, the Seventh Crusade (1248–54) led by King Louis IX, which mostly repeated the itinerary of the Fifth Crusade. Instead, it took some time for Latin Christians to attempt to bypass the Coptic See and discuss Nubia directly.

Nubia may even have been intentionally ignored in the planning of the Fifth Crusade; importantly before the circulation of the Damietta myth of the Nubian king. Arnold of Lübeck has been argued by Volker Scior to have been on a mission to accumulate knowledge of Egypt and neighbouring regions in his *Chronica* specifically for Fifth Crusade planning. Yet, in relation to Nubia, Arnold only repeated Bernard of Strasbourg's brief remark of it being a Christian kingdom 20 days distance south of Egypt whose people were uncultured (*incultus*) and the land wild (*silvestris*).[83] Certainly, the collecting of information for the success of the crusade had been of particular importance to Innocent III who, prior to his premature death, was acutely concerned with having council from 'prudent men' (*prudentum virorum*) in the crusade's planning, as evidenced in his 1213 papal bull *Quia Maior* originally calling for the Fifth Crusade.[84] If Arnold was collecting information, however, Nubia was not deemed to be important prior to the crusade. Indeed, Nubia may even have avoided focus because of the legacy of Latin Christian knowledge of Tūrānšāh's raid into Nubia in 1172–3. The identification of *Nubia* as one of Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn's four brothers, along with *Abesiam* (Ethiopia), *Leemen* (Yemen), and *Mauros* (Libya or North Africa?), first by Ralph of Diceto (d. 1202), the Archdeacon of Middlesex, is possibly reflective of this knowledge of Nubia's perceived subjugation.[85] The motif of Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn's brother's was repeated in the following decades by the likes of Roger of Wendover, in his *Flores historiarum* (c. 1235), and Matthew Paris, in his *Chronica majora* (wr. c. 1240s–50s), indicating that the narrative remained prominent.[86] Equally, Uri Zvi Shachar has argued that the circulation of knowledge regarding Tūrānšāh's raid into Nubia can be witnessed in the thirteenth-century *Estoires d'Outremer*, an Old French quasi-historical narration of events up to 1229 related to the broader William of Tyre textual traditions.[87] Such narratives only served to further emphasise the image of a conquered Nubia in Latin Christian discourse in the first half of the thirteenth century which may have quelled initial enquiry into Nubia's military capabilities.

Even the appearance of the Damietta myth during the Fifth Crusade regarding the powerful Nubian king, who was said would rise up and scatter the bones of the Prophet Muḥammad in Mecca, did not result in Latin Christians actively seeking to ascertain more information about the kingdom in the hope of facilitating collaboration. This was despite this same myth's broader narrative having apparently correctly predicted the terror of Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn and foretold that if Damietta was captured and the Nubian king appeared, it would lead to the exaltation of Christianity and the defeat of the Muslims.[88] Similarly, news of the Byzantine emperor's respectful conduct towards the Nubian 'king' in front of the Fourth Crusaders in 1202, as witnessed by Robert of Clari (wr. c. 1216), did not seemingly spur interests. There is little further embellishment in Robert's text to over-exaggerate any power of the 'king' himself, but importantly he displays a Nubian 'king' who was universally respected across Christendom.[89] These narratives of a powerful and influential Nubian king appear to have been isolated to each crusade

and did not provide the foundation for widespread Latin Christian military interest in Nubia. Notwithstanding the limiting factors of the overall weakening position of the Crusader States during the thirteenth century and the politics of Latin Europe, concerted Latin Christian efforts with a Nubian interest did not initially materialise. It is likely uncoincidental that Nubians begin to more widely appear as an explicit military focus in Latin Christian discourse only after the era of preaching had begun in the middle of the century.

It was Pope Gregory X (r. 1271–6) who was the first Latin pope to oversee a strategy of seeking unity between Latin and Eastern Christians, which also included the Mongols, against the Mamlūks.[90] The possible association of Nubia with the Second Council of Lyons in 1274, as posited by Giovanni Vantini, certainly would have reflected Gregory's wider military policy, as well as the importance of preaching interactions noted earlier.[91] However, any direct evidence of this connection remains circumstantial. Regrettably, Gregory's short reign prohibited the exploration of his policy further, thus limiting the creation of tangible evidence. The quick succession of Gregory's successors – there was immediately four popes in four years until Martin IV (r. 1281–5), and no pope had a reign longer than four years until Boniface VIII (r. 1294–1303) – limited desires to continue Gregory's efforts. Importantly, events in the Holy Land during the latter decades of the thirteenth century, intensified by the fall of Acre in 1291 and the end of the Crusader States, forced the Latin Christians to continually adapt their crusading approach between self-preservation, territorial consolidation, and hopeful expansion.[92] Most of all, the fall of Acre expanded the geographical scope of crusading and its arenas as the Latin Christians were once again, for the first time since the arrival of the First Crusade, operating in a region with no settled military presence in the Holy Land.[93] Crusading targets and the proposed means to achieve success were continually diversified. Increased attention towards Nubia was just one of the ways this change materialised.

One of the clearest and most explicit ways this was witnessed was in the changing nature of crusade treatises. These texts devised ways for a crusade to succeed and were presented to popes and secular leaders during the latter thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.[94] Most crusade treatises do not discuss Eastern Christians at all, let alone foster any desires to explore potential collaboration with Africans. Indeed, some treatises, such as Fidenzo of Padua's *Liber recuperationis Terre Sancte* (1274), describe the *Jacobitarum*, along with other Eastern groups, as cowardly and that they were no help for any fight because they were 'not a war-like people' (*non sunt bellicosi*).[95] Specifically in relation to Nubians, it is likely that Fidenzo included Nubians in his depiction of the Jacobites given the influence of Jacques of Vitry in his text, who specifically grouped the Nubians in his own discussion of the Jacobites in his *Historia Orientalis*, as previously noted. The early crusade treatises did not overly concern themselves with the Nubians. For instance, William of Tripoli only briefly noted that Nubia (*Ethiopia*) was south of Egypt and had always been Christian in his 1273 *Tractatus de statu*

Saracenorum.[96] Yet, William refrained from any further discussion of the kingdom or provided any thoughts on potential cooperation. Reasons for the initial lack of interest in Nubia in such treatises may be twofold. Firstly, the early texts reflect Latin Christian strategy prior to the fall of Acre before any real military interest in the Nubians in such treatises was shown. Alternatively, this apparent disinterest may actually be suggestive of well-informed Latin Christian authors who were well-acquainted with knowledge of certain events which would have limited contemporary belief in the capabilities of Nubia. For example, Burchard of Mount Sion stated that he saw the King of *Ethyopie* (Nubia) being held captive in Cairo during his travels in c. 1283.[97] *Ourou* David II was indeed being held captive by the Mamlūks following the fallout of the Mamlūk-backed installation of his nephew Shekanda (also known as Mashkouda) in 1276. The witnessing of David by Burchard is notable if we accept Jonathan Rubin's view that, based on an extended edition of Burchard's text, Burchard was in fact actually relaying information to Latin Europe whilst operating as an envoy to the sultan.[98] Knowledge of the turbulent politics of the 1270s and 1280s would not have filled Latin Christians with much hope that the Nubians would or could have been much help. It would also seem uncoincidental that Mamlūk rulers tried to portray their dominance over Nubia in correspondence with Latin Christian rulers. For example, the Mamlūk Sultan Qalāwūn described himself as the 'Sultan of the Nubians', which he specifically described as 'the [former] land of King David' in a treaty with Alfonso III of Aragon in 1290. This does not appear to have been mere diplomatic rhetoric either. Of the other territories ascribed to Qalāwūn, such as Egypt, Damascus, Aleppo, Jerusalem, Mecca, Yemen, and the Ḥijāz, in addition to being the sultan of all Muslims and the 'king of all the East', none necessarily overstated Mamlūk's geographic reach with the exception of reference to Nubia.[99] Latin Christians were being fed a particularly weakened image of Nubia and for good reason: it was an Egyptian fear of a potential Nubian-Latin Christian alliance. For instance, according to the 'Ethiopian' informants who informed the *Ystoria Ethyopie* of Giovanni da Carignano (wr. 1314–29), the Mamlūks used all their forces to prevent any Latin Christians going to 'Ethiopia' and any 'Ethiopians' reaching Latin Europe out of fear that an alliance would prosper and destroy them.[100] That is not to say that there was a dramatic increase in crusade treatises which concerned Nubia in the immediate decades, however. Even into the fourteenth century, treatises, such as the Hospitaller treatise *La devise des chemins de Babiloine* (1307), which centre on a strategy against Egypt, do not mention the Nubians – or Ethiopians for that matter – at all.

Nevertheless, what is most notable about the crusade treatises which do concern Nubia is that, despite their limited number, they feature in prominent treatises presented directly to the reigning pope. They were not inconsequential potential strategies. For example, William Adam, the French Dominican who wrote his *De modo Sarracenos extirpandi* in c. 1316–17 which was personally delivered to Cardinal Raymond William of Farges, nephew of the previous pope Clement V (r. 1305–14), exclaimed the importance of not

forgetting *Ethiopia* and allowing it to be cut off from the memory of the Latin Christians.[101] William claimed to have travelled to *Ethiopia* and preached there at some point during the 20 months that he had been in the Red Sea region.[102] Specifically for military strategy, William noted how *Ethiopia* was said to be willing to aid in the blocking of trade in the Red Sea as part of his proposed plan to cut off Egypt from its source of wealth.[103] Nubia's location and how it could affect Egypt was of particular interest to such strategies. William only describes his 'true Ethiopia' (*verum Ethiopiam*) as being west of the Red Sea, but it almost certainly was referring to Nubia.[104] The text shows no awareness of the 'Ethiopian' embassy to Western Europe in the early fourteenth century, which will be identified with the Nubians in the next chapter, though this may readily be explained by William's travels and being absent from Latin Europe for some years. Notably, William also omitted much information regarding 'Ethiopia', which he deemed to be irrelevant for the purpose of his treatise. He wrote in his treatise that 'I could tell marvellous things about *Ethiopia* and certain islands except that the material does not belong in a booklet of this sort and is not required by the brevity which I intend in this little work'.[105] What more William could have added during the oral presentation of his work to the cardinal, if requested, will never be known. William was not alone in this endeavour of detailing the potential military importance of Nubia either, with at least two other notable examples further detailing strategies surviving. Significantly, these additional two treatises were both directly given to their respective sitting popes: Heťum of Corycus' treatise delivered to Clement V in 1307 and Marino Sanudo Torsello's to John XXII (r. 1316–34) in 1321.

Let us first begin with Heťum of Corycus, an Armenian nobleman and monk. His work, *La Flor des Estoires de la Terre d'Orient*, was written in French (and later copied into Latin) during his time acting as an ambassador in France and was presented to Pope Clement V in 1307. Heťum is known for his role in attempting to strengthen ties between Armenia, Latin Europe, and the Mongols, but his role concerning Nubia is seldom discussed.[106] Nubia (*Nubie*) first appears in his text with its mention as a Christian kingdom and that it lay 12 days south of Egypt through all desert and sand.[107] Unlike other brief notices, such as William Adam's, however, Heťum expands on Nubia's potential importance to the success of enacting upon his treatise. Heťum found it important to stress that Nubia would be able to occupy the Sultan of Egypt so that he could not move into Syria, enabling the Latin Christians to re-occupy and re-fortify the cities of the Holy Land to such a degree that they would not fall again.[108] Heťum further directly stated to Clement,

> Your Holy Father, you should write to the King of the *Nubiens*, who are Christians and were converted to the Christian faith by St. Thomas the Apostle in the land of *Ethiope*, so that they wage war against the sultan and his men. I greatly believe that these *Nubiens*, for the honour of Our Lord Jesus Christ and out of reverence to Your Holiness, would make war against the sultan and his men and would cause damage to their power, creating great trouble for the sultan and his men,

before then suggesting that messengers from Armenia could act as intermediaries.[109] Not only were the Nubians championed as a key player in the Latin Christian fight back against the Mamlūks, but Armenia was also apparently able to facilitate such cooperation. There is no evidence of knowledge of Old Nubian in Armenia or Armenian in Nubia to validate this statement, if, indeed, an intermediary language was not used instead. The probability that the role of Armenia may have been embellished to strengthen Armenia's own importance in order to receive the aid it needed in its own survival against the Mamlūks cannot be understated, however. Nevertheless, the portrayal of Nubia in the text, whether truthful or embellished, cannot be dismissed. Moreover, despite Heťum not mentioning the early fourteenth-century 'Ethiopian' embassy, his language is reminiscent of the language employed by Galvaneus de la Flamma's (fl. before 1345) copying of Giovanni da Carignano's tract (wr. 1314–29) about the embassy regarding the supposed Nubian 'reverence' (*reverence*) to the pope by Heťum or their 'ready obedience' to him (*paratus obedire*).[110] The absence of the embassy in Heťum's text can be readily explained by the dates. The embassy was only said to arrive at the papal court at Avignon in late 1312 or early 1313. Galvaneus' rendition of Carignano's report states that they only set out for Avignon when the King of Spain (*Yspanie*) had died, seemingly placing this sometime after the death of Ferdinand IV, king of Castile and León in late 1312, the closest death of any Spanish monarch to the embassy's supposed date.[111] This would further suggest an explanation for Heťum's lack of notice of the embassy if it had not arrived at the papal court, which was also then still resident in Rome, not Avignon, for at least another five years following his submission of his text to Clement in 1307. In any case, Heťum made a clear and forceful case for the importance of Nubia in any future Latin Christian crusading endeavour, which may have influenced the embassy's decision to later travel to Avignon if this was following a papal request as encouraged by Heťum.

This insistence to encourage the pope to be eager in facilitating military cooperation with Nubia was further emphasised by Marino Sanudo Torsello, a Venetian statesman and geographer who wrote the three books of his *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis* between 1306 and 1321. Sanudo's *Nubia* was noted to be in conflict with Egypt, which would make it an ideal potential ally, and was a key element of Sanudo's proposed plan. Unlike Heťum, Sanudo provides practical geographical information about Nubia, such as the fact that there were 140 miles between Cairo (Babylon) and Syene (on the border of Nubia) and then 240 further miles until Meroë, though this information was most likely gained from classical sources. He added that it took over 12 days to cross the desert between Egypt and Nubia, whilst suggesting that Nubia would be easier to reach via the Red Sea. For instance, he stated that the Eastern Desert of Egypt only took three days to traverse to reach Berenike – a late antique port directly east of Syene.[112] His text acknowledged the limitations of supplying any army coming from the south due to the deserts and scarcity of all things surrounding Egypt, which may have further supported the importance of engaging with the Nubians, who would have

been used to such conditions.[113] Sanudo further insinuated the economic role that Nubia would play following the mercantile importance of tolls in Egypt: 'Since the above [tolls] are imposed all over Egypt, and as far as 'Ethiopia' (*Aethiopiam*) and India they are of immense use to the sultan, his people and his merchants'.[114] This is later compounded in his treatise through the suggestion that if the Latin Christians could gain control of the Nile via Nubian aid, for if no 'food or help [could] be brought from the upper Nile, from *Aethiopia* or anywhere else, so great will be the plight of the Egyptians. They will be compelled by extreme necessity to withdraw and give up the land because of famine'.[115] Nubia had a significant role in this scheme, most clearly reflected by the explicit statement that successful cooperation with Nubia would result in the conquering of Egypt within four to five years.[116]

Sanudo's *Liber Secretorum* was a further powerful case for Latin Christendom to reach out to Nubia. What makes the text even more revealing about the potential role that Nubia could employ was highlighted in the imagery accompanying the text, which similarly appears in both the manuscript given to Pope John XXII in 1321 and other contemporary copies. On the whole, images are largely absent in the manuscripts, but one striking example appears opposite to a discussion of Nubia. The image depicts what appears to be an idealised crusade on Egypt, with the Latin Christians arriving by sea and Nubians attacking the rear of the Egyptian army. The sharing of the same flags and banners by the Latin Christians and the Nubians would insinuate a role for the Nubians akin to crusading in all but name. At least in this case, Nubians may even be said to have been characterised as fellow 'crusaders'. Given the lack of other images throughout the text, it would suggest that Sanudo was specifically highlighting this option to the pope.[117] This particular image also offers a potential insight into Sanudo's absence of any discussion regarding the supposed early fourteenth-century 'Ethiopian' embassy. This can be explained by the fact that, although Sanudo wrote the text of Books Two (wr. 1312–13) and Three (wr. 1319–21) of his *Liber* where the Nubians appear contemporarily to the arrival of the embassy at Avignon, he did not travel to Avignon until sometime in 1321 prior to presenting his work to Pope John XXII, suggesting that if the embassy was even still resident, any interaction would only have occurred post-completion. Sanudo had instead been primarily writing his work during residency in Italy and western Greece via additional stays in Rhodes, Alexandria, Armenia, Bruges, and other Hanseatic ports between Hamburg and Stettin.[118] Crusade treatises were aimed at future plans and were not overly concerned with events that had happened, which would also explain the lack of reference to the embassy in Sanudo's text.

It is particularly revealing that Ethiopia does not play any role in the text, although *Habesse* does appear on the accompanying world map at the end of the work.[119] In fact, Ethiopia is not the focus of any contemporary crusade treatise. Sanudo's, along with manuscript map provider Pietro Vesconte's, geographical awareness clearly saw both African kingdoms separately, making Sanudo's active decision to ignore Ethiopia even more striking. The overt

focus was clearly on Nubia, which was presented as a key and viable potential ally. Despite its focus on Nubia, Sanudo's treatise is further notable for its absence of any acknowledgement of contemporary Nubian politics, such as the installation of a Muslim *ourou*, Baršanbū, quickly followed by the Kanz al-Dawla Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, in 1317, and the subsequent conversion of the cathedral at Dongola into a mosque, all of which were perhaps unknown to Sanudo. Both events in Latin Europe and in Nubia were certainly not conducive to any attempt to establish cooperation, whether it had been welcomed by Nubia or not. In any case, any joint crusade failed to materialise, though this was due to other affairs in Western Europe rather than specifically due to negative news of Nubian affairs limiting Latin Christian enthusiasm.[120] No major crusade expedition was launched during this decade despite one being called for at the Council of Vienne, which was convened in 1312. Nevertheless, Nubia did once again feature in another crusade treatise in 1332, albeit in much less detail and conviction.[121] No crusade plans which involved Nubia, however, were ever invoked. For example, the crusade which was planned following Pierre de la Palud's appointment as Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1329 and his failed negotiations with the Mamlūks did not consider utilising the treatises in relation to inspiring possible engagement with the Nubians.[122] Even though later crusade plans did not feature Nubia, this may have been due to news of Nubia's turn to Islam under Kanz al-Dawla. How quickly the Latin Christians became aware that this did not remain the case is unclear. Nevertheless, after the 1365 Alexandrian Crusade, no more crusades were aimed towards Egypt and Nubia lost almost all importance in Latin Christian strategy, which was ultimately further embedded by the opening of diplomacy with Ethiopia at the turn of the fifteenth century.

Unlike Nubia, Ethiopia avoided Latin Christian attention to their crusading schemes even despite the likes of Marco Polo portraying the scale of the 'great province' of *Abasce* in his *Travels* (wr. 1298).[123] The debate surrounding the validity of Polo's descriptions is not necessarily important here, though his account of Ethiopia is accurate in terms of his apparent reference to Yagbeʾä Seyōn's (r. 1285–94) regional conflicts. The significance of which would appear to explain why Polo actively chose to replace Nubia with Ethiopia in his recollections of regional African power based on his own firsthand or secondary information.[124] Moreover, both Ethiopian and Latin Christian rulers portrayed themselves as protectors of Eastern Christians, particularly those in Egypt, in the early fourteenth century.[125] Yet, this apparently shared role does not appear to have been acknowledged by either side during this period. All Latin Christian attentions were thoroughly fixated on Nubia. Even though Christian Dotawo remained a regional force at least until the turn of the sixteenth century – indeed, even showing signs of revival and expansion during the reign of Siti, the Christian *ourou* attested in the 1330s following the rule of the Kanz al-Dawla – Latin Christian interest in Nubia underwent a clear decline following Sanudo's treatise and never regained the heights of its prior period of increased significance in Latin Christian discourse. What, then, did Dotawo and Ethiopia have to say about all this?

Notes

1 For an example of this management process in a different context, see G. Christ, 'Beyond the Network – Connectors of Networks: Venetian Agents in Cairo and Venetian News Management', in *Everything Is on the Move*, ed. Conermann, pp. 27–59.

2 N. P. Tanner, ed. and trans., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols. (London, 1990), pp. I:191–4 (Lateran I); 203–4 (Lateran II); 223–4 (Lateran III); 239–40 (Lateran IV) (text and trans.).

3 This focus on reconciliation was also present in Matthew Paris' further reflections on the supposed errors of the Jacobites in the mid-thirteenth century based on Jacques' work: Matthaei Parisiensis, *Chronica majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, 7 vols. (London, 1872–83), pp. III:400–3; A. Jotischky, 'Penance and Reconciliation in the Crusader States: Matthew Paris, Jacques de Vitry and the Eastern Christians', in *Retribution, Repentance, and Reconciliation: Papers Read at the 2002 Summer Meeting and the 2003 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, eds. K. M. Cooper and J. Gregory (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 74–83.

4 Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Orientalis*, ed. and trans. Donnadieu, Ch. 76, pp. 304–11 (text and trans.).

5 For example, Oliver of Paderborn stated that these errors were the act of circumcision, the way they made the sign of the cross with one finger signifying the one nature of Christ, and the branding of the cross on their forehead, whereas Marino Sanudo, on the other hand, listed these errors as their act of circumcision, the way they made the sacrament of confession, and the act of their branding of a cross: Oliver of Paderborn, 'Historia Damiatini', ed. Hoogeweg, Ch. 62, 264 (text); Oliver of Paderborn, 'The Capture of Damietta', trans. Gavigan, pp. 118–19 (trans.); Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis super terrae sanctae (1611)*, ed. J. Bongars (Jerusalem, 1972), Book III Part VIII Ch. 4, pp. 184–6 (text); Marino Sanudo Torsello, *The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross: Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis*, trans. P Lock (Farnham, 2011), pp. 293–5 (trans.). Sanudo does not explain the error of the sacrament, but it would seem to be similar to other Jacobites where they practiced direct confession to God whilst burning incense. Also see *Liber Peregrinationis*, ed. Monneret de Villard, Ch. 2, pp. 32–3, Ch. 5, pp. 59–60. Also: Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'oltramare*, ed. Bacchi della Lega, Ch. 257, pp. II:210–11 (text); Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Voyage*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, pp. 126–7 (trans.).

6 *Acta Honorii III (1216–1227) et Gregorii IX (1227–1241)*, ed. A. L. Tautu, vol. 3 (Vatican City, 1950), no.210, pp. 286–7. Innocent IV's version became the standard reissued text: *Acta Innocentii papae IV (1243–1254)*, eds. T. T. Haluscynskyj and M. M. Wojnar, vol. 4 (Vatican City, 1962), no.19, pp. 36–42: *Dilectis filiis fratribus de Ordine Fratrum Minorum in terras Saracenorum, Paganorum, Graecorum, Bulgarorum, Cumanorum, Ethyoporum, Syrorum, Iberorum, Alanorum, Gazarorum, Gothorum, Zicorum, Ruthenorum, Jacobinorum, Nubianorum, Nestorinorum, Georgianorum, Armenorum, Indorum, Mesolitorum aliorum infidelium nationum Orientis seu quarum cunque aliarumque partium proficiscentibus*. Each further reissue of the bull can be found in: *Acta Alexandri (1254–1261)*, eds. T. T. Haluscynskyj and M. M. Wojnar, vol. 4.2 (Vatican City, 1966), no.38, 73; *Acta Urbani IV, Clementis IV, Gregorii X (1261–1276)*, ed. A. L. Tautu, vol. 5.1 (Vatican City, 1953), no. 7, pp. 26–8; *Acta Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio V ad Benedictum XI (1276–1304)*, eds. F. M. Delorme and A. L. Tautu, vol. 5.2 (Vatican City, 1954), no. 79, pp. 42–4, no. 110, pp. 184–5, no. 153, pp. 252–5.

7 *Acta Innocentii papae IV*, eds. Haluscynskyj and Wojnar, no. 21, pp. 48–9.

8 *Acta Innocentii papae IV*, eds. Haluscynskyj and Wojnar, no. 100, pp. 163–4.

9 B. Weber, 'An Incomplete Integration into the *Orbis Christianus*: Relations and Misunderstandings Between the Papacy and Ethiopia (1237–1456)', *Medieval*

Encounters, 21 (2015), pp. 232–49; A. Simmons, 'Desire, Myth, and Necessity: Latin Attempts at Integrating Nubians into the *Orbis Christianorum* of the Holy Land During the Twelfth to Fifteenth Centuries', in *Legacies of the Crusades: Proceedings of the Ninth Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Odense, 27 June–1 July 2016, vol. I*, eds. K. V. Jensen and T. K. Nielsen (Turnhout, 2021), pp. 137–56. Similar distant attempts were also made in Asia: F. Schmieder, '*Cum hora undecima*: The Incorporation of Asia into the *orbis Christianus*', in *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals*, eds. G. Armstrong and I. N. Wood (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 259–65.

10 Both Franciscans and Dominicans preached in Africa: T. Somigli di San Detole, ed., *Etiopia Francescana nei documenti dei secoli XVII e XVIII: Preceduti da cenni storici sulle relazioni con l'Etiopia durante i sec. XIV e XV*, vol. 1 (Florence, 1928), pp. I.I:xi–xci; C. Conti Rossini, 'Sulle Missioni domenicane in Etiopia nel secolo XIV', *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche*, 7.1 (1940), pp. 71–98; Richard, 'Les premiers missionaires'. More generally, see A. Jotischky, 'The Mendicants as Missionaries and Travellers in the Near East in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', in *Eastward Bound*, ed. Allen, pp. 88–106.

11 *Du Yorkshire à l'Inde*, ed. Gautier-Dalché, De Viis Maris, Ch. 11, pp. 215–16.

12 Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, eds. and trans. Banks and Binns, Book I Ch. 5, pp. 42–3 (text and trans.); Golubovich, *Bibliotheca*, III:69.

13 M. W. Baldwin, 'Missions to the East in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', in *A History of the Crusades*, eds. M. W. Baldwin, H. W. Hazard, K. M. Setton, R. L. Wolff, and N. P. Zacour, eds., 6 vols. (Madison, 1969–89), V:513.

14 Richard, 'Les premiers missionnaires', 329.

15 *Documents per l'historia de la cultura catalana mig-eval*, vol. I, ed. A. Rubió Y Lluch (Barcelona, 1908), 365. On the first Ethiopian embassy, see Krebs, *Medieval Ethiopian Kingship*, pp. 18–22.

16 There is also an accompanying toponym of *Hirrina*, said to be a city of *Tiopi*, but this would merely appear to be a reference to a settlement in one of the deserts (Latin: *[h]arena*, 'sand') surrouding Nubia: Ristoro d'Arezzo, 'La composizione del mondo', in MCAA 4.1, pp. 1065–6 (text and trans.).

17 B. Hamilton and A. Jotischky, *Latin and Greek Monasticism in the Crusader States* (Cambridge, 2020), pp. 283–5.

18 Matthaei Parisiensis, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, pp. III:396–9. This was contemporarily well-known across Latin Europe. For instance, the fact that the *Ethiopes* and *Libii* were not subject to the Muslims in relation to the jurisdiction of the Coptic Patriarch in 1237 also appears in the anonymous extension to the *Annals* of Cologne (wr. stopped 1238) and in the *Chronica* of Alberic of Trois-Fontaines (wr. c. 1241): 'Annales Colonienses Maximi', ed. K. Pertz, in MGH SS XVII, 846; Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, 'Chronica', ed. P. Scheffer-Boichorst, in MGH SS XXIII, 942.

19 RRH, no.500, pp. 131–2; Cerulli, *Etiopi in Palestina*, I:78.

20 See K. J. Werthmuller, *Coptic Identity and Ayyubid Politics in Egypt 1218–1250* (Cairo, 2010), pp. 55–74.

21 HPEC III.II, 207.

22 Being too 'Roman' or 'Greek' was also a claim used in Ethiopia in theological or political disputes. For example, according to the *gadl* of the fourteenth-century saint Qawəsṭos, an otherwise unknown thirteenth-century Zagʷe ruler of Ethiopia named Baʾəmnat was said to have followed the Roman Catholic faith (the religion of *Romē*, ሮሜ). The accusation against Baʾəmnat was in response to a controversy regarding the observation of the Sabbath. The 'Roman' faith of Baʾəmnat was explicitly described as being the faith of the Romans as established by Pope Leo I (r.440–61), seemingly referring to the canons of the Council

of Chalcedon in 451 and not in any way connected to contemporary Latin Christians: Hiruie Ermias, *The Vita of Saint Qawǝsṭos: A Fourteenth-Century Ethiopian Saint and Martyr (A New Critical Edition, Translation, and Commentary)* (Hamburg, 2021), pp. 34 (text); 135 (trans.). A similar accusation, whether true or rhetoric, was also charged against the young *aṣe ʾƎskǝndǝr* (r. 1478–94) by his opponents which coincided with the presence of Latin Christians at the Ethiopian court: Taddesse Tamrat, *Church and State*, pp. 290–2.

23 Bar Hebraeus, *The Ecclesiastical Chronicle: An English Translation*, trans. D. Wilmshurst (Piscataway, NJ, 2016), pp. 230–5 (text and trans.).

24 Hamilton, 'The Crusades and North-East Africa', 177.

25 *Bullarium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, ed. T. Ripoll, vol. 1 (Rome, 1729), 482.

26 Richard, 'Les premiers missionnaires', pp. 325–6.

27 *Les registres de Nicholas IV (1288–92)*, ed. E. Langlois, 2 vols. (Paris, 1886–1905), I:no.611, pp. 120–1. The list of given nations are: *terras Sarracenorum, Paganorum, Grecorum, Bulgarorum, Cumanorum, Ulacorum ubicumque existentium, Ethiopum, Syrorum, Iberorum, Alanorum, Gazarorum, Gothorum, Zirorum, Ruthenorum, Jacobitarum, Nubianorum, Nestorianorum, Georgianorum, Armenorum, Indorum, Moscelitorum, Tartarorum, Hungarorum Majoris Hungarie, christianorum captivatorum apud Tartaros, aliarumque exterarum nationum Orientis.*

28 *Les registres de Nicholas IV*, ed. Langlois, I:nos.2218–27, pp. 391–2.

29 *Les registres de Nicholas IV*, ed. Langlois, I:nos.2234–39, 393.

30 A. Lechartain, 'Jean de Monte Corvino et l'ambassade éthiopienne', *Revue d'histoire des missions*, 10.1 (1933), pp. 122–7.

31 V. M. Fontana, *Monumenta Dominicana* (Rome, 1675), 172. For example, Andrew Kurt has cast doubt on the mission for the reason of the late sources: Kurt, 'The Search for Prester John', pp. 311–2n74.

32 For the background to this succession, see R. Seignobos, 'Émir à Assouan, souverain à Dongola: rivalités de pouvoir et dynamiques familiales autour du règne nubien du Kanz al-Dawla Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad (1317–1331)

33 *Annales Minorum Seu Trium Ordinum A S. Francisco Institutorum*, ed. L. Wadding, vol. VII (Rome, 1733), no.15, pp. 102–3. The letter to the emperor also had additional praise for his 'passionate zeal' (v*otis zelemur ardentibus*).

34 A. Łajtar and T. Płóciennik, 'A Man from Provence on the Middle Nile in the Second Half of the Thirteenth/First Half of the Fourteenth Century. A Graffito in the Upper Church at Banganarti', in *Nubian Voices*, eds. Łajtar and van der Vliet, pp. 95–120.

35 Łajtar and Płóciennik, 'A Man from Provence', 107.

36 *Acta capitulorum generalium*, ed. Reichert, vol. 1, 9.

37 G. Cavalieri, *Galleria dei sommi pontefici*, 4 vols. (Benevento, 1696), I:137.

38 Francisco Álvarez, *Verdadeira*, ed. de Albuquerque, Ch. 137, 168 (text); Francisco Álvarez, *Prester John*, trans. Beckingham and Huntingford, II:461 (trans.).

39 Conti Rossini, 'Sulle Missioni domenicane'; J. R. S. Phillips, *The Medieval Expansion of Europe* (Oxford, 1998), 144.

40 Luis de Urreta, *Historia de la sagrada orden de Predicadores en los remotos reynos de la Etiopia* (Valencia, 1611), Ch. 4, pp. 41–9; M.-A. van den Oudenrijn, 'L'Évêque dominicain Fr. Barthélemy, fondateur supposé don couvent dans le Tigré au 14e siècle', *RSE*, 5 (1946), pp. 7–16.

41 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. and trans. Edgington, Book XII Ch. 21, pp. 858–9 (text and trans.).

42 Fulcheri Cartonensis, *Historia*, ed. Hagenmeyer, Book II Ch. 57, pp. 596–8 (text); Fulcher of Chartres, *History*, trans. Ryan with Fink, 216 (trans.).

43 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. and trans. Edgington, Book XII Ch. 21, pp. 856–9 (text and trans.).

44 S. B. Edgington, *Baldwin I of Jerusalem* (Routledge 2019), pp. 173–4.

45 See M. Al-Nasarat and A. A. Al-Maani, 'Petra During the Crusader Period from the Evidence of Al-Wuayra Castle: A Review', *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry*, 14.1 (2014), pp. 219–32; M. Sinibaldi, 'Settlement in the Petra Region During the Crusader Period: A Summary of the Historical and Archaeological Evidence', in *Crusader Landscapes in the Medieval Levant: The Archaeology and History of the Latin East*, eds. M. Sinibaldi, K. J. Lewis, B. Major, and J. A. Thompson (Cardiff, 2016), pp. 81–102; M. Sinibaldi, '*The Crusader Lordship of Transjordan (1100–1189): Settlement Forms, Dynamics and Significance*', Levant, 54.1 (2022), pp. 124-54.

46 H. E. Mayer, *Die Kreuzfahrerherrschaft Montréal (Šōbak): Jordanien im 12. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1990), 54n90.

47 D. Pringle, 'The Castles of Ayla (Al-Aqaba) in the Crusader, Ayyubid and Mamluk Periods', in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, vol. 4, eds. U. Vermeulen and J. van Steenbergen (Leuven, 2005), pp. 334–7.

48 For example, *Du Yorkshire à l'Inde*, ed. Gautier-Dalché, De Viis Maris, Ch. 11, pp. 215–16; Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi, *Chronicon*, ed. Huygens, Book XIX Ch. 27, II:903 (text); William of Tyre, *History*, trans. Babcock and Krey, II:336 (trans.).

49 *Du Yorkshire à l'Inde*, ed. Gautier-Dalché, De Viis Maris, Ch. 11, 216.

50 For example, Mogadishu (*Mogedaxo*) and Zanzibar (*Çanghibar*) were famously first referred to by Marco Polo (c. 1298): Marco Polo, *Description*, eds. and trans. Moule and Pelliot, Chs 191–2, pp. I:428–34. Sofala (*Sofrala*), however, first appears on the map of Fra Mauro (c. 1450): Falchetta, *Fra Mauro*, *148, 211. Also as *Soffala*, *34, 187.

51 D. Bramoullé, 'The Fatimids and the Red Sea (969–1171)', in *Navigated Spaces, Connected Places: Proceedings of the Red Sea Project V Held at the University of Exeter 16–19 September 2010*, eds. D. A. Agius, J. P. Cooper, A. Trakadas, and C. Zazzaro (Oxford, 2012), pp. 127–36.

52 Latin Europeans knew how to manipulate the rock as early as the twelfth century without need for external manufacturing, which only served to increase the direct importation of rock crystal without the need to acquire manufactured crystal from Egypt. Yet, the documentation of its specific origin remained elusive: Theophilus Presbyter, *De Diversis Artibus: The Various Arts*, ed. and trans. C. R. Dodwell (London, 1961), pp. 168–71. On the origins of East African rock crystal, see M. Horton, N. Boivin, A. Crowther, B. Gaskell, C. Radimilahy, and H. Wright, 'East Africa as a Source for Fatimid Rock Crystal: workshops from Kenya to Madagascar', in *Gemstones in the First Millennium AD: Mines, Trade, Workshops and Symbolism*, eds. A. Hilgner, D. Quast, and S. Greiff (Mainz, 2017), pp. 103–18; S. Pradines, 'Islamic Archaeology in the Comoros: The Swahili and the Rock Crystal Trade with the Abbasid and Fatimid Caliphates', *Journal of Islamic Archaeology*, 6.1 (2019), pp. 109–35. For the use of rock crystal in Latin Christian churches, see H. R. Hahnloser and S. Brugger-Koch, *Corpus der Hartsteinschliffe des 12.-15. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1985).

53 *Guillaume de Tyr*, ed. Paris, II:298–9.

54 U. Koppitz, 'Magistri Thietmari Peregrenatio. Pilgerreise nach Palästina und auf den Sina in den Jahren 1217/1218', *Concilium medii aevi. Zeitschrift für Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*, 14 (2011), Ch. 17, 162 (text); Thietmar, 'Pilgrimage (1217–18)', in *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, trans. Pringle, 123 (trans.).

55 Contemporary sources are silent on the matter, but the fleeing to Dongola by the inhabitants of ʿAidhāb is first stated by Leo Africanus (Leo refers to ʿAidhāb as *Zibid*): 'Descrittione dell'Africa, & delle cose notabili che iuo sono, per Giovan Lioni Africano', in *Primo volume delle nauigationi et viaggi nel qual si contiene la descrittione dell'Africa, et del paese del Prete Ianni, con varii viaggi, dal mar Rosso a Calicut & infin all'isole Molucche, dove nascono le Spetiere et la*

navigatione attorno il mondo: li nomi de gli auttori, et le nauigationi, et i viaggi piuparticolarmente si mostrano nel foglio seguente, ed. G. B. Ramusio (Venice, 1550), 87a (text); Leo Africanus, *History and Description of Africa and of the Notable Things Therein Contained*, trans. J. Pory [1600], ed. R. Brown, 3 vols. (London, 1896), III:837 (trans.). Fāṭimid officials are known to have traded with Nubia through ʿAidhāb – for example, J. M. Plumley, 'The Christian Period at Qasr Ibrim: Some Notes on the MSS Finds', in *Nubia: Récentes Récherches: Actes du colloque international nubiologique au musée national de Varsovie, 19–22 juin 1972*, ed. K. Michałowski (Warsaw, 1975), 106.

56 Obłuski, *Monasteries and Monks of Nubia*, pp. 18–19, 132, 183.

57 D. Whitcomb, *Ayla: Art and Industry in the Islamic Port of Aqaba* (Chicago, 1994), pp. 16–17; Crawford, ed., *Ethiopian Itineraries*, pp. 126–9 (text and trans.). In a letter to the commander of the papal army in 1515 during the early period of Portuguese expeditions into the Red Sea, Andrea Corsali, similarly, noted that Ethiopians travelled to Jerusalem via Sawākin: 'Lettera d'Andrea Corsali Fiorentino allo illustrissimo signor duca Giuliano de Medici scritta in Cochin terra dell'India, nell'anno MDXV alli VI di Gennaio', in *Primo volume delle nauigationi et viaggi*, ed. Ramusio, 195b.

58 É. Puech, 'Une inscription éthiopienne ancienne au Sinaï (Wadi Ḥajjaj)', *Revue Biblique*, 87.4 (1980), pp. 597–601.

59 *De rege autem de Marroch, qui dicitur rex Asiriorum… et de rege Bugie et de rege Numidie et Libie et Cyrene et de Ethiopum tam rara et tam pauca audivimus, quod fere prorsus ignoremus, quid ibi agatur; ex quo enim christianitas de terra illa repulsa est propter errorem Mahumet, et gens illa incredula alienata est a nobis et ab imperio Romano pariter et fide christiana descriverunt… Similiter autem et de soldano Persidis propter terre longinquitatem et alienationem christianitatis et linguam pauca novimus; preter quod dicunt, ultra Persas et Medos et Macedones christianos reges esse, [qui etiam gentis illius pontifices dicuntur et reges]. Ita enim fama ad nos usque pervenit. Illi autem valde vexant gentiles [nationes] regionum illarum. Rex quoque de Avesguia et rex Nubianorum, sicut audivimus, hoc idem faciunt…. Is status erat rebus humanis anno ab incarnato Verbo 1172*: Ricardi Pictaviensis, 'Chronica', Ex continuatione recensionum D et E, 84.

60 Abū Šāma, *Al-Rawḍatayn*, pp. II:160–2 (text); OSCN, pp. 367–70 (trans.).

61 Ricardi Pictaviensis, 'Chronica', Ex continuatione recensionum D et E, 77.

62 D. Iogna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom Face Heresy, Judaism, and Islam (1000–1150)*, trans. G. R. Edwards (Ithaca, 2002), pp. 265–74, 356–7.

63 *Du Yorkshire à l'Inde*, ed. Gautier-Dalché, De Viis Maris, Ch. 11, pp. 216–17.

64 Marinescu, 'Le prêtre Jean', pp. 101–3.

65 Derat, *L;énigme d;une dynastie sainte*, pp. 263 (text), 268 (trans.); *Du Yorkshire à l'Inde*, ed. Gautier-Dalché, De Viis Maris, Ch. 11, pp. 216–17.

66 Koppitz, 'Magistri Thietmari Peregrenatio', Ch. 24, 170 (text); Thietmar, 'Pilgrimage (1217–18)', in *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, trans. Pringle, 130 (trans.).

67 *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Tresorier*, ed. M. L. de Las Matrie (Paris, 1871), Ch. 7, pp. 69–70. On the 'raid', see D. Newbold, 'The Crusaders in the Red Sea and the Sudan', *Sudan Notes and Records*, 22.2 (1945), pp. 213–27; J. Prawer, *Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, trans. G. Nahon, 2 vols. (Paris, 1969–70), pp. I:612–16; B. Hamilton, *The Leper King and His Heirs: Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (New York, 2000), pp. 159–85; G. Leiser, 'The Crusader Raid in the Red Sea in 578/1182–3', *Journal of the American Research Center in Cairo*, 14 (1977), pp. 87–100; W. Facey, 'Crusaders in the Red Sea: Renaud de Chatillon's Raids of AD 1182–3', in *People of the Red Sea: Proceedings of the Red Sea Project II, Held in the British Museum, October 2004*, ed. J. C. M. Starkey (Oxford, 2005), pp. 87–98; A. Mallett, 'A

Trip Down the Red Sea with Reynald of Châtillon', *JRAS Third Series*, 18.2 (2008), pp. 141–53.

68 See P. Handyside, 'Differing Views of Renaud de Châtillon', in *Deeds Done Beyond the Sea: Essays on William of Tyre, Cyprus and the Military Orders Presented to Peter Edbury*, eds. S. B. Edgington and H. Nicholson (Farnham, 2014), pp. 43–52.

69 B. Hamilton, 'The Elephant of Christ: Reynald of Châtillon', *Studies in Church History*, 15 (1978), pp. 97–108; C. Hillenbrand, 'The Imprisonment of Reynald of Châtillon', in *Texts, Documents and Artefacts: Islamic Studies in Honour of D. S. Richards*, ed. C. F. Robinson (Leiden, 2003), pp. 98–101.

70 Hamilton, 'Elephant of Christ', 104; Mallett, 'A Trip Down the Red Sea'.

71 N. Morton, *The Crusader States and their Neighbours: A Military History (1099–1187)* (Oxford, 2020), 173.

72 Further, see Simmons, 'Red Sea Entanglement'.

73 D. P. S. Peacock and A. Peacock, 'The Enigma of ʿAydhab: A Medieval Islamic Port on the Red Sea Coast', *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, 37.1 (2008), pp. 32–48.

74 Baadj, 'The Political Context'; A. S. Baadj, *Saladin, the Almohads and the Banū Ghāniya: The Contest for North Africa (12th and 13th Centuries)* (Leiden, 2015), 97.

75 Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi, *Chronicon*, ed. Huygens, Book XXI Ch. 7, II:971 (text); William of Tyre, *History*, trans. Babcock and Krey, II:408 (trans.); A. A. Gordus and D. M. Metcalf, 'Neutron Activation Analysis of the Gold Coinages of the Crusader States', *Metallurgy in Numismatics*, 1 (1980), pp. 119–50; D. M. Metcalf, 'Crusader Gold Bezants of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: Two Additional Sources of Information', *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 160 (2000), pp. 203–18.

76 G. R. Tibbetts, 'Arab Navigation in the Red Sea', *The Geographical Journal*, 127.3 (1961), 325; Simmons, 'Red Sea Entanglement'.

77 Plumley, 'The Christian Period', 106; *Guillaume de Tyr*, ed. Paris, pp. II:298–9.

78 Ibn Jubayr is rather disparaging of what he calls the Beja's corrupt beliefs: Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr* (Beirut, 1964), 65 (text); *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr: A Medieval Journey from Cordoba to Jerusalem*, trans. R. J. C. Broadhurst with an introduction by R. Irwin (London, 2020), 86 (trans.).

79 One such Muslim writer who described the Beja as Nubians was Abū Az-Zamaḫšarī (d. 1144): Abū Az-Zamaḫšarī, *Az-Zamakšarī Lexicon Geographicum: Cui titulus est: Kitāb al-jibāl wa al-amkina wa al-miyāh*, eds. M. Salverda de Grave and T. G. J. Juynboll (Leiden, 1856), 22 (text); OSCN, 254 (trans.). Whilst Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 1228–9), for example, distinguished between the Nubians and the Beja, the latter of which were Christian (explicitly in relation to those at Sawākin) and resided on the Red Sea African coast east of the Nubians: F. Wüstenfeld, ed., *Jacut's geographisches Wörterbuch*, 5 vols. (Leipzig, 1866–73), pp. III:182, IV:820 (text); OSCN, pp. 345–6 (trans.).

80 Wüstenfeld, ed., *Jacut's geographisches Wörterbuch*, III:710 (text); OSCN, 345 (trans.).

81 Morton, *Crusader States*, 173.

82 B. Weber, 'Damiette, 1220: La cinquième croisade et l'Apocalypse arabe de Pierre dans leur contexte nilotique', *Médiévales*, 79 (2020), pp. 69–90.

83 Arnoldi, 'Chronica Slavorum', in MGH SS XXI, Book VII Ch. 8, 238 (text); *Chronicle of Arnold of Lübeck*, trans. Loud, 277 (trans.); V. Scior, 'The Mediterranean in the High Middles Ages: Area of Unity or Diversity? Arnold of Lübeck's *Chronica Slavorum*', in *Mobility and Travel in the Mediterranean from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, eds. R. Schlesier and U. Zellmann (Münster, 2004), pp. 114–15.

84 PL 216, pp. 817–21, quote on 818. See also: J. Vandeburie, '*Dominus papa volens scire* – Echoes of the Fourth Lateran Council's Crusade and Mission Agenda in

Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts', in *The Fourth Lateran Council and the Crusade Movement: The Impact of the Council of 1215 on Latin Christendom and the East*, eds. J. L. Bird and D. J. Smith (Turnhout, 2018), pp. 311–15.

85 *Radulfi de Diceto decani Lundoniensis opera historica. The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto, Dean of London*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols. (London, 1876), II:82.

86 Roger of Wendover, *Liber qui dicitur Flores Historiarum ab anno domini MCLIV annoque Henrici Anglorum regis secondi primo*, ed. H. G. Hewlett, 3 vols. (London, 1886–9), I:179 (text); Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History: The History of England from the Descent of the Saxons to A.D. 1235*, trans. J. A. Giles, 2 vols. (London, 1849), II:92 (trans.); Matthaei Parisiensis, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, II:361.

87 Shachar, '"Re-Orienting" *Estoires d'Outremer*'.

88 Oliver of Paderborn, 'Historia Damiatini', ed. Hoogeweg, Ch. 35, pp. 231–2 (text); Oliver of Paderborn, *Capture of Damietta*, trans. Gavigan, pp. 89–90 (trans.).

89 Robert of Clari, *La Conquête*, ed. and trans. Dufournet, Ch. 54, 130 (text); Robert of Clari, *Conquest*, trans. McNeal, pp. 79–80 (trans.).

90 See P. Baldwin, *Pope Gregory X and the Crusades* (Woodbridge, 2014).

91 Vantini, 'Sur l'éventualité'.

92 For the later changing crusading approach, see M. Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy: The Chief Instruments of Papal Crusading Policy and Crusade to the Holy Land from the Final Loss of Jerusalem to the Fall of Acre, 1244–1291* (Leiden, 1975); N. Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades 1305–1378* (Oxford, 1986); S. Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land 1274–1314* (Oxford, 1991); N. Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford, 1992); A. Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land: The Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Aldershot, 2000), B. Weber, *Lutter contre les Turcs: Les formes nouvelles de la croisade pontificale au XVᵉ siècle* (Rome, 2013).

93 A. Garcia Espada, 'The Geographical Enlargement of the Crusade Theory After 1291. Its Subaltern Roots', in *Les projets de croisade: Géostratégie et diplomatie européenne du XIVe au XVIIe siècle*, ed. J. Paviot (Toulouse, 2014), pp. 109–24.

94 See Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, pp. 87–91; Leopold, *How to Recover*, pp. 105–36. Schein utilised a list of 26 works dated between 1274 and 1314, whilst Leopold expanded his study to incorporate earlier and later texts which acted similarly to the principal treatises of Schein: Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, pp. 269–70; Leopold, *How to Recover*, pp. 8–45.

95 Fidenzio of Padua, 'Liber recuperationis Terre Sancte ([1274] 1290–1291)', in *Projets de croisade (v. 1290–v. 1330)*, ed. J. Paviot (Paris, 2008), Ch. 9, 64.

96 William of Tripoli, '*Tractatus de statu Saracenorum*', in William of Tripoli, *Notitia de Machometo: De statu Sarracenorum*, ed. P. Engels (Würzburg, 1992), Ch. 4, pp. 278–9 (text and trans.).

97 J. Basnage, *Thesaurus monumentorum ecclesiasticorum et historicorum, sive, H. Canisii Lectiones antiquae*, vol. 4 (Antwerp, 1725), 25; H. Omont, 'Manuscrits de la bibliothèque de sir Thomas Phillipps récemment acquis pour la Bibliothèque nationale', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 64 (1903), 500.

98 J. Rubin, 'Burchard of Mount Sion's Descriptio Terrae Sanctae: A Newly Discovered Extended Version', *Crusades*, 13 (2014), pp. 178–9.

99 Ibnʿ Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Tašrīf al-ayyām wa-l-uṣūr fī sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, ed. M. Kamil (Cairo, 1961), pp. 156–64 (text); H. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290): Treaties of Baybars and Qalāwūn with Christian Rulers* (Leiden, 1995), pp. 132–40 (trans.). The treaty was reissued between both parties' successors, al-Ašraf Kalīl and James II, in 1293: al-Qalqašandī, *Subḥ al-aʿšā fī ṣinaʿat*

al-inšāʾ, 14 vols. (Cairo, 1913–19), pp. XIV:63–70. On these treaties, see P. M. Holt, 'The Mamluk Sultanate and Aragon: The Treaties of 689/1290 and 692/1293', *Tarikh*, 2 (1992), pp. 105–18.

100 Bausi and Chiesa, 'The *Ystoria Ethyopie*', pp. 38–9 (text and trans.).

101 William Adam, *How to Defeat the Saracens/Guillelmus Ade, Tractatus quomodo Sarraceni sunt expugnandi*, ed. and trans. G. Constable (Washington, D.C., 2012), Ch. 5, 104–5 (text and trans.).

102 William Adam, *Defeat*, ed. and trans. Constable, Ch. 5, pp. 102–5 (text and trans.).

103 William Adam, *Defeat*, ed. and trans. Constable, Ch. 5, pp. 114–17 (text and trans.). On the importance of the Red Sea trade to the Mamlūks, see R. Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate, 1250–1382* (Beckenham, 1986), pp. 37–61; J. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250–1350* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 212–47.

104 William Adam, *Defeat*, ed. and trans. Constable, Ch. 5, pp. 98–9 (text and trans.).

105 William Adam, *Defeat*, pp. 114–15 (text and trans.).

106 On Heṫum's role as mediator between the Latin Christians and the Mongols, see, for example, A. Osipian, 'Armenian Involvement in the Latin-Mongol Crusade: Uses of the Magi and Prester John in Constable Smbat's *Letter* and Hayton of Corycus's "*Flos historiarum terre orientis*"', *Medieval Encounters*, 20.1 (2014), pp. 66–100.

107 Heṫum of Corycus, 'La Flor des Estoires de la Terre d'Orient', Ch. 10, 232.

108 Heṫum of Corycus, 'La Flor des Estoires de la Terre d'Orient', Ch. 16, pp. 239–40, Ch. 18, 241.

109 *Encores, que la Vostre Sainte Paternitei vulle escrire au roi des Nubiens, qui sont Crestiens, e furent convertiz à la foi de Crist par monseignor saint Thomas l'apostle en la terre d'Ethiope, mandant que deüsent movoir guerre au soudan e à sa gent. E je croi fermement que les devant dis Nubiens, por l'oneur Nostre Seignor Jhesu Crist, e por reverence de la Vostre Saintetei, moveroient guerre au soudan e sa gent, e lur feroient ennui e damage, à lur poer; e ce seroit grant destorbement au soudan e à sa gent*: Heṫum of Corycus, 'La Flor des Estoires de la Terre d'Orient', Ch. 23, 247.

110 Bausi and Chiesa, 'The *Ystoria Ethyopie*', pp. 20–1 (text and trans.).

111 Bausi and Chiesa, 'The *Ystoria Ethyopie*', pp. 30–3 (text and trans.).

112 Berenike had long since been abandoned since the sixth century, however. Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Liber secretorum*, ed. Bongars, Book III Part XIV Ch. 12, pp. 259–61 (text); Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Book of Secrets*, trans. Lock, pp. 413–15 (trans.).

113 Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Liber secretorum*, ed. Bongars, Book I Part V Ch. 2, 32, Book II Part I Ch. 3, 36, Book II Part III Ch. 4, 53 (text); Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Book of Secrets*, trans. Lock, pp. 65, 71, 97 (trans.).

114 Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Liber secretorum*, ed. Bongars, Book I Part I Ch. 4, 24 (text); Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Book of Secrets*, trans. Lock, 53 (trans.).

115 Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Liber secretorum*, ed. Bongars, Book II Part IV Ch. 27, 91 (text); Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Book of Secrets*, trans. Lock, 150 (trans.). Only a few years later in 1324, Jordanus of Severac reiterates this focus and even goes as far as to state that just two ships in the Indian Ocean would disrupt the Mamlūk trade: *Annales Minorum Seu Trium Ordinum A S. Francisco Institutorum*, ed. L. Wadding, vol. 3 (Rome, 1636), 256.

116 Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Liber secretorum*, ed. Bongars, Book II Part I Ch. 3, 36 (text); Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Book of Secrets*, trans. Lock, pp. 71–2 (trans.).

117 Not including the end maps and occasional margin decoration, there are arguably only six other comparably decorative images across 107 folios in the manuscript given to Pope John XXII: Vat.Lat. 2972, 7v, 11v, 14r, 68r, 93v, 94r. Most of the folios have little or no decoration at all. A version of the same image also appears in other contemporary copies, such as those held at the British Library (Add MS 27376, 8v), the Bodleian Library at the University of Oxford (MS Tanner 190, 22r), the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence (Ricc. 237, 15v), and the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels (MS 9404–5, 18r), emphasising the importance of the image for the text's readers.

118 Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Book of Secrets*, trans. Lock, 9.

119 This appears in all contemporary manuscripts, but to emphasise this point, this was true for the manuscript given to Pope John XXII: Vat.Lat. 2972, 113r.

120 E. Edson, 'Reviving the Crusade: Sanudo's Scheme and Vesconte's Maps', in *Eastward Bound*, ed. Allen, pp. 131–55. On the specific failure of Sanudo's proposals, see C. J. Tyerman, 'Marino Sanudo Torsello and the Lost Crusade: Lobbying in the Fourteenth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 32 (1982), pp. 57–73.

121 Pseudo-Brocardus, 'Directorium ad Passagium Faciendum', in RHC Doc. Arm. II, De tercio motivo ad passagium faciendum, 388.

122 J. Dunbabin, *A Hound of God: Pierre de la Palud and the Fourteenth Century Church* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 164–78.

123 On the appearance of Ethiopia in the text, see S. Tedeschi, 'L'Abissinia nel libro di Marco Polo', *Africa*, 25 (1981), pp. 361–83.

124 On examples of the debate, which mostly centre on discussions regarding his trip to China, see F. Wood, *Did Marco Polo Go to China?* (London, 1995); J. Larner, *Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World* (New Haven, 1999), esp. pp. 58–63; H. U. Vogel, *Marco Polo Was in China: New Evidence from Currencies, Salts and Revenues* (Leiden, 2013).

125 H. Lot, 'Essai d'intervention de Charles le Bel en faveur des chrétiens d'Orient tenté avec le concours du pape Jean XXII', *Bibliothèque de l'ecole des Chartes*, 36 (1875), pp. 588–600; G. Bratianu, 'Le conseil du Roi Charles: essai sur l'internationale Chrétienne et les nationalités à la fin du Moyen Âge', *Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen*, 19 (1942), pp. 291–361; Wiet, 'Les relations Égypto-Abyssines', pp. 122–5; Loiseau, 'The Ḥaṭī and the Sultan', pp. 640–1.

6 The Nubian and Ethiopian Response

Little Nubian and Ethiopian contemporary evidence survives which illuminates what either kingdom thought of the events in the Holy Land or that explicitly connects them directly to any of the Latin Christian expeditions in any great depth. Instead, most of what can be surmised comes from Latin Christian texts or the developing fear of a possible grand Christian alliance which is insinuated in some Muslim accounts. Given Muslim Egypt's increasing preoccupation with Dotawo throughout the period in question, conflicts between Dotawo and Egypt should not necessarily be viewed in isolation of events elsewhere, however. Geopolitical perceptions could be just as potent as actualities. Similar to other Eastern Christian groups, there are no sources to suggest that either Nubians or Ethiopians adopted any crusading ideology or mentality akin to the Latin Christians. Yet, that is not to say that they were not affected by the broader regional geopolitics caused by the crusading movement. This chapter aims to contextualise the histories of Dotawo and Ethiopia between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries within a regional dimension which was not isolated from the arrival of the Latin Christians and the establishment of the Crusader States. No surviving texts directly relate that increased Muslim aggression towards Nubia was a direct consequence of the Crusaders' actions, but, as will be discussed here, some associations are insinuated, and many coincidental events took place that allow for a reframing of a narrative from a wider geopolitical regional perspective and should not be as readily dismissed as they currently are in scholarship. Ethiopia, on the other hand, appears to have avoided much open dispute with Egypt until the fourteenth century when its new Solomonic rulers began to reposition Ethiopia as the dominant north-east African Christian power.

As early as within a decade of the capture of Jerusalem in 1099, ʿAlī ibn Ṭāhir al-Sulamī wrote a treatise that characterised the Latin First Crusade as a wider Christian jihād against the Muslims but, importantly, one that began with the Norman conquest of Sicily in the 1060s.[1] This Muslim ideology of crusading situated the Crusades within a broader Christian versus Muslim narrative. The question 'who was perceived to be a Crusader?', at least in the eyes of the Latin Christians, has already needed to be redefined in account of the images of Nubian 'crusaders' in manuscripts of Marino Sanudo's *Liber secretorum*, particularly given its primary intended audience of Pope John

XXII, as discussed in the previous chapter. Very little scholarship has focused on Eastern Christian intellectual understanding of Latin crusading as a concept except for Byzantine concepts of holy war.[2] Current evidence restricts us from making any judgements on the understanding of either the Nubians or the Ethiopians regarding the notion of crusading, either of its ideology or its practicality. Nevertheless, some elements may be able to be extrapolated. For example, for the period prior to the Crusades, it has been argued that the Ethiopian tradition knew nothing of contemporary Latin Rome and only of the New Rome of Constantinople.[3] Yet, it is worth mentioning that Eastern Christians have been argued by Christopher MacEvitt to have transferred Roman identity from the Byzantines to the Latin Christians during the Crusades.[4] Presumably, this would likely have been the case for Ethiopians and Nubians too. In the case of Nubia, following Alexandros Tsakos' analysis of Old Nubian external toponyms, it seems likely that the Nubians did view Constantinople through the same cultural lens as other Eastern Christians.[5] Did, then, this transferal of the identity of the 'true' Romans also occur in Nubia? Evidence is too limited to draw any definitive conclusions, and comparative Ethiopian evidence is currently elusive.

If the arrival of the Latin Christians did have a similar influence on Nubian and Ethiopian discourses akin to other Eastern Christian groups, it would underpin a new intellectual importance of Latin Europe in place of Byzantium which should not be overlooked when discussing Nubian-Latin Christian and Ethiopian-Latin Christian relations. For instance, apocalyptic discourses which concerned the meeting of a 'Roman' and 'Ethiopian' emperor would now concentrate attention on the power of Latin Europe, or a specific Latin Christian ruler, rather than Byzantium or its emperor. A Latin Christian would therefore become a desired political ally if the situation required if diplomacy was to be inspired by apocalyptic narratives. However, whilst such narratives were certainly in circulation in Ethiopia by the fourteenth century – such as in the *Kəbrä nägäśt* and the text of Pseudo-Shenoute – and were invoked in later Ethiopian-Latin Christian diplomatic correspondence, current Nubian evidence is limited. That said, Nubians were unlikely to have existed in an intellectual vacuum in relation to apocalyptic narratives when these texts appeared throughout Christendom in Latin, Greek, Coptic, Syriac, Arabic, Gəʿəz, and Armenian, to name just a few languages.[6] Despite the current absence of evidence, it remains possible that discourses which used the figure of the 'Roman' ruler to frame the image of the Nubian *ourou* circulated within Nubia, which would portray any engagement with the Latin Christians as evidence of Nubian worldly authority. Certainly, the significance of the submission of 'Rome' to Ethiopia became an important motif in Solomonic Ethiopian texts, such as in the *gaḍl* of Yemreḥanna Krestos, specifically to emphasise Ethiopian orthodoxy.[7] Whilst Muslim texts do not explicitly link Eastern Christians with the Latin Christian crusading endeavour, the fear of fighting Christian alliances increased. Such Egyptian fears first manifested their actions towards Nubia, first by the Ayyūbids and then later by the Mamlūks. Contextualising this relationship within a broader

geopolitical arena offers a new perspective on this period of the history of Dotawo. Ethiopia, on the other hand, largely maintained a peaceful relationship with Egypt between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. Solomonic Ethiopia's success at remaining largely unchallenged in its adoption of elements of Nubian identity rested on this contrasting experience of both Dotawo and Ethiopia.

The Twelfth Century

Since the arrival of the Fāṭimids in Egypt in 969, the relationship between the Fāṭimids and the Nubians was largely peaceful until periods of increased tension began to appear in the twelfth century. The Fāṭimids were acutely aware that amicable relations with Nubia were vital for economic prosperity, especially for a steady gold supply.[8] Contemporary texts are largely absent of conflict until the 1170s, but according to later writers, an unknown Nubian *ourou* was said to have marched on Egypt as early as 1107–8.[9] There is no evidence that any Nubian expedition was connected to the recent arrival of the Latin Christians, but such an event would come to epitomise what Egypt became to fear: a coordinated Christian attack. Egypt notably began to increase its defences in the direction of its southern neighbour. For instance, in c. 1154, the Egyptian vizier offered Usāmā ibn Munqiḏh the fief of Aswan so that he could explicitly defend Egypt's southern border against encroaching *al-Ḥabaša* (الحبشة) and promised to supply him with men for the cause. Ibn Munqiḏh's use of *al-Ḥabaša* would appear to be an error for Nubians given the proximity of Aswan to the border with Dotawo, and there are no other indications that Ethiopians were actually in open conflict with Egypt at this time.[10] Indeed, al-Maqrīzī's early fifteenth-century history about the Fāṭimids later noted that in 1161 'the King of the Nubians' (*malik al-Nūba*: ملك النوبه), who can be identified as Moüses Georgios, marched against Aswan with 12,000 horsemen and massacred a great multitude of Muslims.[11] No Nubian source corroborates this, but in light of Ibn Munqiḏh's text, both authors may be reflecting the same period of conflict. The fact that the former *ourou* Georgios IV had died in Egypt in 1157 may not be representative of a narrative of peace, especially as Moüses Georgios had been on the throne since 1155 and identified himself as the nephew of one *ourou* David. It remains unclear whether Georgios, who ascended the throne in 1132, preceded or succeeded this otherwise unknown David I, but it would appear that Moüses Georgios' self-association with David, rather than Georgios, may suggest that the former had been politically exiled to Egypt and was not necessarily there by choice.[12] Significantly, Moüses Georgios reigned until the 1190s and oversaw a key period in Nubian-Egyptian relations.

Before continuing, it would be worthy to note here a key reason for the seeming disparity in references to Nubian-Egyptian conflict in comparison to Ethiopian-Egyptian conflict. Importantly, the difference between Dotawo's and Ethiopia's relationship with the Coptic patriarch may be significant. Unlike in Ethiopia, which required each new abun to be sent from Egypt,

Nubian rulers could anoint their own bishops. Beyond patriarchal subordination, Egypt had little leverage over Dotawo in this regard. Ethiopia, on the other hand, witnessed multiple Coptic patriarchs withholding the sending of a new abun. Significantly, this dynamic could also result in patriarchs emphasising their authority over the Ethiopian ruler, as was the case in 1235 during the patriarchate of Kyril III ibn Laqlaq upon the latter's succession.[13] How this contrasting relationship between the Nubian, Ethiopian, and Coptic Churches may have actually affected their respective affairs towards the Muslims of Egypt is not overly clear. However, during the 1140s, Bəgʷəna desired more consecrated bishops from Egypt but their requests were met with Egyptian fears that they would then become disobedient if they were given scope for religious autonomy.[14] Even though this request was eventually granted, the emphasising of the power dynamic between Egypt and Ethiopia can clearly be witnessed fairly early during the crusading period. That is not to say that this event was related to the presence of the Latin Christians in the Holy Land but Ethiopia's need for maintaining positive relations with Egypt was both political and religious. Dotawo, on the other hand, had no similar limitation and therefore could be perceived as being potentially more likely to become hostile by the Muslim Egyptians.

There is no direct evidence linking any of the early conflicts between Nubia and Egypt with the arrival of the Latin Christians, but they certainly did not heed the slow fostering of an increasing Muslim fear of being surrounded by Christian alliances from an early date. Certainly, Nubia was more than capable of being a notable threat, with evidence also indicating that Dotawo had a navy which may have been able to traverse the cataracts in addition to having the ability to field sizeable armies.[15] That said, there is no evidence of a Nubian naval assault against Egypt, neither via the Nile nor along its Red Sea coast. Notably, any period of conflict between Dotawo and Egypt in the early 1160s coincided with no less than five Latin Christian expeditions to Egypt throughout the decade, including resulting in a Latin Christian garrison being stationed in Cairo for a year in 1167–8. Despite the lack of contemporary texts discussing any further Nubian-Egyptian conflict which occurred alongside the Latin Christian expeditions, the description of the Christian Nubian king being in conflict with the Muslims by Richard of Poitiers in relation to 1172 may actually reflect an increasingly strained regional situation and not simply have been merely an exaggeration of the believed affairs of a ruler that the Crusaders had become newly acquainted with.[16] Whilst there may have been no direct evidence of any budding relationship between Dotawo and the Latin Christians, a continual set of coincidental events certainly provided Muslim authors with reason to fear even the slightest possibility of a Nubian-Latin Christian alliance. Indeed, such insinuations began to be voiced following one striking event which occurred in 1168/9.

Muslim chroniclers describe an alleged coup led by Nubian slave soldiers in Egypt in response to the installation of Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn as vizier.[17] The coup was launched, or at least co-organised, by the Commissioner of the Caliphate, who was a Nubian eunuch and the *muqaddam* of the Sūdān, due to Ṣalāḥ

ad-Dīn oppressing court officials and instigating a broader anti-Sūdān policy in the army.[18] Strikingly, the commissioner was said to have sent a messenger to King Amalric to have the Latin Christians attack Egypt and march on Cairo where the commissioner's men would aid their expedition to overthrow Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn. The messenger was caught on his way, however, supposedly on account of having new shoes which were in stark contrast to his otherwise ragged clothes. Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn soon learnt of this plot and had the commissioner killed, initiating a revolt by the Nubian soldiers and other elements of the army against his men. These events only served to initiate Ayyūbid fear of a potential alliance between the Latin Christians and the Nubians, though there is no Latin Christian or Nubian evidence attesting to any connection to the uprising, the letter, or its aftermath. Yet, a desire to reach out to the Latin Christians by the Nubian regiments of the Egyptian army is not out of the realm of possibility. It would be most likely that the attempted alliance with the Crusaders in this instance may have been building on interactions with the Frankish garrison which was stationed in Cairo during 1167–8. It should be highlighted, however, that these Nubians were not acting on behalf of Moüses Georgios of Dotawo. Nevertheless, Nubian-Latin Christian cooperation in any form could pose a potentially significant threat to Egypt.

In addition to documenting this event, Ibn al-Athīr offers yet further detail. Despite incorrectly dating the uprising to 1174, he explicitly stated that the Sicilian fleet which attacked Alexandria in August 1174 was in direct response to the attempted allying with Amalric – Ibn al-Athīr also includes the ruler of Sicily, William II (r. 1166–89), too – by the revolters.[19] Almost nothing is known about the Sicilian fleet from Latin Christian sources, which has led to Michael Fulton questioning the scale of the assault when viewed within the context of the desire to glorify Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn's victories in the descriptions of the episode found in Muslim texts.[20] Indeed, Sicily was lamented by Latin Christian contemporaries for offering little support to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, such as by William of Tyre.[21] The absence of Latin Christian references likely reflects the failure of the fleet, not least due to the failed arrival of the army of the Kingdom of Jerusalem following the death of Amalric en route. However, Ibn al-Athīr's direct association between the Nubian conspirators and a Latin Christian attack attests to the very real belief of the possibility of a Nubian-Latin Christian alliance regardless of the question of the size of the Sicilian fleet of 1174. Moreover, these events should also be viewed amidst a series of activities. Whilst a direct connection is not attested in any source, the decision by Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn to send his brother, Tūrānšāh, to raid Nubia in 1172–3 may also be significant. According to some accounts, the raid was designed to acquire land for a safe retreat if Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn was pushed out of Egypt by Nur ad-Dīn from Syria. For others, the raid was in response to a Nubian force harassing the Aswan region which also contained some of the former slave soldiers who were ousted following the events in Cairo in 1168/9.[22] There is no evidence, however, which would suggest that any Nubian force was anything other than a local militia, rather than a more coordinated effort organised by Moüses Georgios, or at

least by a regional official acting on his behalf, such as the eparch. Whatever the reason, a Muslim garrison was left at Qasr Ibrim for about two years and temporarily turned its church into a mosque. The importance of the raid differs in accounts too. Later writers who wrote following Mamlūk aggression towards Dotawo a century later, such as Ibn al-Furāt, with the benefit of hindsight, consider the 1172–3 expedition to be just a raid (غارة, *ghāra*), with the later events of 1275, which will be related later in this chapter, being the real attempt at an Egyptian conquest (فتح, *fatḥ*) of Dotawo.[23] That said, Abū Šāma, writing before the later Mamlūk successes, did call Tūrānšāh's invasion a *fatḥ*, suggesting that at least some observers considered the initial expedition to be a serious attempt to gain land in Lower Nubia.[24] Moreover, according to Abū Šāma, Tūrānšāh expressly rejected an offer of peace from the *ourou* before the Nubians ultimately retook Qasr Ibrim, further emphasising that this was not intended to be a fleeting raid.[25] Nubians were also party to the uprising of the Kanz al-Dawla of Aswan in 1174, as he gained the following of local Nubians, Arabs, and other communities.[26] Many of which had relocated to the border region following the demolishing of their residences in Cairo by Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn after the 1168/9 uprising.[27] Once more, these Nubians were not acting on behalf of Dotawo, but it is not difficult to see how conclusions could be drawn in the belief, whether rightly or wrongly, of the potential desire of Nubians and Latin Christians to ally if circumstances allowed in the eyes of those in Egypt, especially if the rhetoric employed by Ibn al-Athīr became a very real reality. In this context, it may not be insignificant that the Latin Christian presence on the Red Sea was also amongst Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn's earliest targets. Whilst this may have been due to geographical proximity, it may be notable that Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn focused primarily on potential Nubian and localised Latin Christian threats, seemingly in a united fashion, from the outset.

No Nubian textual sources survive detailing any of these events. There is, however, a wooden plaque which may be viewed as representative of this set of conflicts. This Nubian plaque was found at Attiri, south of Qasr Ibrim, and dates to the second half of the twelfth century. It depicts a dismounted military saint on one side with a protection prayer in Old Nubian to St. Epimachos on the reverse.[28] Giovanni Vantini first argued for possible Crusader influences in the plaque, though this has subsequently been repeatedly dismissed by others.[29] Given the wider political setting of Nubia during the plaque's creation, this issue should be readdressed in light of other arguments presented in this book. Not only may the plaque be viewed in relation to the turmoils with Egypt, but it may also represent tentative links to the Latin Christians, specifically through its artistic design. The depiction of the saint does not imitate other Nubian paintings of military saints, who are normally depicted with a spear, and not a sword. Moreover, the armour is not indicative of Nubian imagery and, on the face of it, particularly with the cross on the chest and the wearing of chainmail is more closely akin to Latin Christian styles.[30] Włodzimierz Godlewski has argued that the plaque came from a local Nubian workshop along with five other examples.[31] Regrettably,

the other four plaques associated with this one, do not reflect similar artistic designs to draw comparisons, further highlighting the plaque's uniqueness. However, the plaque's unique style has yet to be adequately explained. It may even be possible that the plaque was initially obtained outside of Nubia and then inscribed with the prayer upon its owner's return. Further material analysis of the plaque will surely pose many more answers and, indeed, questions. Whether the plaque is of local or foreign production, or a mixture of both, does not detract from its cultural significance in terms of emphasising the desire for protection in light of the situation with Egypt. It would be too speculative to draw too many conclusions from it alone, but it certainly deserves a reassessment given the much wider historical context in which it should be viewed.

Following the retreat of the Egyptian force, Dotawo braced itself for further conflict. The defensive wall at Qasr Ibrim was rebuilt in the late twelfth century, whose Roman foundations – the last garrison of which withdrew in the late third century CE – still provided the structure for its defensive architecture and had been allowed to largely crumble away.[32] Such an act is also significant as fortifications across Nubia often acted primarily as refuge centres for surrounding populations, rather than as protection for a permanent urban population within their walls.[33] The timing of the defensive upgrade would appear deliberate.[34] Similarly, elsewhere in Nubia witnessed an increased appearance of so-called 'castle-houses' which offered greater protection for local communities from attacks with examples dating to between the twelfth century and the end of the Christian kingdom. This new defensive two-storey house type, which was only accessible from above, was particularly prevalent in the region between Qasr Ibrim and south towards Ferka, indicating a period of increased hostility.[35] Furthermore, although Jay Spaulding has highlighted the lack of evidence that the *Baqṭ* – the diplomatic exchange of gifts between Nubia (Makuria/Dotawo) and Egypt established since 652 – was always an annual exchange, it is still notable that the subsequent period between 1171 and 1269 witnessed tensions due to the *Baqṭ* not being received.[36] It would appear most likely that none of these events should be viewed in isolation. Whether Dotawo had any desire to play an active role in these wider regional affairs cannot be directly evidenced, yet it is clear that Muslim authors began to express fears that this may have been the case. By the end of the thirteenth century, following the arrival of the Mamlūks this association, whether warranted or not, would begin to have a detrimental effect on Dotawo.

In contrast, almost nothing is known of the international affairs of the so-called Zagʷe dynasty in Ethiopia. Unlike Dotawo, Ethiopia appears to have had little conflict with Egypt during this same period, with the exception of the aforementioned reluctance of the Coptic patriarch to send a new abun during the 1140s. Importantly, the Egyptian fear appears to have been centred on Zagʷe internal politics and not due to any fear of encouraging relations with the Latin Christians, however. In general, relations between Bǝgʷǝna and Egypt, as far as the surviving evidence suggests, were largely

peaceful. The late fifteenth-century *gadl* of the twelfth-century *ḥaḍe* Yemreḥanna Krestos even relates how he wrote to the Sultan of Egypt to request a door made from the tree of Libanos which the sultan had in his palace. Although the door was to be used for the *nəguś*' 'House of God', the sultan sent it immediately once he saw the amount of gold on offer.[37] Despite the noted issues surrounding the later production of the *gadl* within a Solomonic context, as previously highlighted, it would appear representative of the primarily positive relations between twelfth-century Bəgʷəna and Egypt. Indeed, at the turn of the thirteenth century, the *History of the Patriarchs* records how Lalibäla (r. c. before 1204–after 1225), Yemreḥanna Krestos' cousin, sent an embassy containing exotic animals and gold gifts to the Egyptian sultan in 1209. Significantly, Lalibäla was additionally depicted in a position of strength, which would suggest that the embassy appears to have been an act of friendship, rather than an act of fealty or organised out of a position of necessity from a position of weakness.[38] Beyond Egypt, there is evidence of conflict between Bəgʷəna and the Muslims residing towards the Red Sea during the reign of Yemreḥanna Krestos' uncle, Ṭanṭawədəm. A land grant to the church at Ura Mäsqäl in Təgray invokes his own victory over neighbouring Red Sea Muslims.[39] There is no indication that this conflict had any connection with events beyond the kingdom's immediate vicinity. Whilst Nubia appears to have been increasingly brought into the regional geopolitics of the Crusades by the turn of the thirteenth century irrespective of the known intentions of Dotawo, Ethiopia appears to have remained removed from any connection, whether real or imagined, by external commentators.

The Thirteenth Century

Until the 1270s, sources are quiet on Nubian-Egyptian affairs. Yet, the evidence of the development of more defensive structures in the Nubian archaeological record would suggest that tensions and at least a fear of conflict continued into the thirteenth century. In fact, little is known about Nubia in the textual record during this period other than descriptions of a raid by a people known as the Damādim, who resided south of Alwa towards the Swahili coast, in 1220.[40] The sources' silence, especially in the Nubian record, may reflect the possibility that Dotawo was also not immune to regional disasters which focused attention internally. The effects of the Nile floods, whether too high or too low, for example, should not be underestimated for their effects in Nubia when compared to Egypt. Current scholarship has largely focused on their significance to Egypt, yet 9% of anomalous floods between 1180 to 1350, including three consecutive anomalous floods between 1230 and 1233, likely had devastating impacts on Nubia based on their recorded effects in neighbouring Upper Egypt and especially Aswan, causing famine and disease.[41] This is likely also the case for other natural events, such as the devastating regional earthquake recorded in 1202 by external writers.[42] Regrettably, current knowledge of the scope and role of such events in

Dotawo remains relatively little.[43] Regarding 1202, however, as has already been suggested, the arrival of the Nubian 'king' in Constantinople in 1203, who is most likely identifiable as Moüses Georgios, may have some connection to the failed floods and the earthquake inspiring the journey, possibly in part or in whole. The choice of Moüses Georgios to perform a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and supposedly to Rome and Santiago de Compostela, via Constantinople, would suggest a figure who was not ignorant of the wider world, regardless of any other aims he may or may not have had during his journey. If so, can, or indeed should, any of the other events which occurred during his prior reign be viewed within a broader context? No definitive answers are available, but his reign marks an important period for our study despite a prolonged period of silence in the sources regarding Nubian external affairs for the majority of the thirteenth century.

Repeated devastation from currently unattested natural phenomena, including possible plague outbreaks, in the Nubian corpus may help explain why Dotawo appears to disappear from wider regional affairs for the majority of the thirteenth century, especially if such disasters focused Nubian attention on internal matters. However, it should also be noted that successive dynastic disputes and territorial losses in Syria for the first half of the thirteenth century similarly focused Egyptian eyes elsewhere, likely limiting desires for additional conflict with Dotawo or even Egyptian interest in affairs across its southern border in general. This state of affairs changed with the rise of the Mamlūks in 1250 who again provided Egypt with stability and a foundation to rebuild its military strength. Neither Dotawo nor the Latin Christians would escape the attention of the Mamlūks. In the case of Dotawo, for reasons unknown, *ourou* David II (r. c. 1268–c. 76) was said to have launched an expedition to the Red Sea port of ʿAidhāb in 1272 and another expedition to Aswan in 1275. Despite the lack of Nubian evidence, Giovanni Vantini even went as far as to posit that *ourou* David's attack on Aswan was in some way connected to a Nubian role in the Second Council of Lyons in 1274.[44] However, there is no suggestion of any attempt by the Latin Christians to ally with the Nubians in the surviving sources of the council. Any role that the Latin Christians may have had in these events has been categorically rejected by Effie Zacharopoulou, who has argued that this increased Mamlūk attention was part of a wider Mamlūk strategy and not specifically linked to the Crusaders in any form.[45] Linking these events directly with the Second Council of Lyons would be circumstantial, yet they should still be contextualised together. These attacks ultimately led to Mamlūk retaliation, which led to David's imprisonment in Cairo and the Mamlūk-supported installation of Šekanda/Maškouda on the throne of Dotawo in 1276.[46] David was said to have been captured by the Mamlūks with the aid of Adūr of al-Abwāb (who is described as a *malik* in the Arabic sources), a new Nubian splinter state centred around the fifth cataract region of the Nile – possibly as far north as Abu Hamed or as far south as the confluence of the Atbara River with the Nile – as David attempted to flee.[47] Little else is known about al-Abwāb, but it notably was where the sons of the

previous *ourou* of Dotawo, Murtaškar, had been exiled after David had over-thrown their father in c. 1268. Undoubtedly, they would have used any lever-age they may have had in al-Abwāb to seek their own retaliation against David once the opportunity arose.

From the Mamlūk perspective, it is worth noting how Mamlūk conflict with Dotawo largely avoided overlap with conflict with the Crusader States which finally fell in 1268 (the Principality of Antioch), 1289 (the County of Tripoli), and 1291 (Acre, the last stronghold of the Kingdom of Jerusalem), respectively. A treaty between the Mamlūks and the fleeting Latin Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem based now at Acre signed in 1283 required the Latin Christians to inform the sultan of any new expedition launched from Latin Europe with at least two months' notice for a period of ten years.[48] In turn, the Mamlūks were able to initially focus solely on Dotawo following the cap-ture of *ourou* David. Prior to the fall of Tripoli and Acre, multiple Egyptian expeditions were launched into Nubia throughout the 1280s, signifying an ever-increasing Mamlūk interest towards their southern borders prior to their final assaults on the remaining Crusader States in 1289 and 1291.[49] Coincidently or otherwise, avoiding parallel conflicts was achieved by the Mamlūks. Towards the end of the truce period, the claim of Sultan Qalāwūn that he was the 'Sultan of the Nubians', which he clarified as 'the [former] land of King David' in a treaty with Alfonso III of Aragon in 1290, as men-tioned in the previous chapter, can be viewed as a surviving example of Mamlūk attempts to undermine any lasting Latin Christian belief that an alliance with Dotawo, particularly if they had received encouraging signs from *ourou* David, would be fruitful or even still a possibility.[50] The increased Mamlūk aggression towards Dotawo in the late thirteenth century and throughout the fourteenth century needs to be contextualised within wider regional conflict. It would appear that the consistent Mamlūk attention awarded to Dotawo was targeted and should take into account the Latin Christians' regional presence and subsequent Mamlūk geopolitical strategy, despite the lack of tangible Nubian evidence confirming any interest in Latin Christian affairs which could have ignited or fuelled Mamlūk fears.

Ethiopia, on the other hand, with the exception of the brief tensions caused by the arrival of the Ethiopian monk Thomas in Jerusalem between 1237–9 or 1241–2, who wished to be ordained by the Jacobite patriarch rather than the Coptic patriarch, appears to have been on relatively good terms with thirteenth-century Egypt. This was especially true with the Mamlūks around the turn of the fourteenth century as the new Solomonic rulers of Ethiopia sent multiple embassies to Cairo in the early decades of their rule. Whilst some threatening rhetoric could occasionally be employed in such exchanges, such as the Ethiopian claim that it could cut off the flow of the Nile to Egypt, no open conflict materialised during this period.[51] Yəkunno ʾÄmlak (r. 1270–85), the first of the Solomonic dynasty, particularly, even appears to have actively attempted to surrender his newly gained authority to the overlord-ship of the Mamlūk sultan in 1274/5 in return for aid against the ousted Zagʷes and their supporters, though the sultan remained uninterested in

developing this new power dynamic.[52] Despite subsequent Ethiopian-Mamlūk correspondence not employing similar subservient rhetoric, nevertheless, these close ties at the turn of the fourteenth century are epitomised by the role of the Mamlūk sultan as the mediator for the delivery of Yagbeʾä Ṣəyon's (r. 1285–94) letter to the Ethiopian community in Jerusalem in 1290.[53] Regarding the Latin Christians, Taddesse Tamrat explicitly claimed that the Crusades would hardly have been unknown to the Ethiopians and that it was only the kingdom's relative weakness until the fourteenth century that prevented any coordination if it was ever desired.[54] Yet, even well into the fourteenth century despite its growing power and regional presence, Ethiopia was able to maintain a position of distance from the geopolitical tensions to its north and continued to openly express little interest in such matters involving the conflict between the Nubians, Egyptians, and the Latin Christians regardless of its own expanding regional presence, particularly during and following the reign of ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon (r. 1314–44).

The 'Ethiopian' Embassy of 1300–c. after 1314

Within this context, one key event that repeatedly appears in scholarship should be reviewed. It has long been said that an 'Ethiopian' embassy had been received in Western Europe in 1306, primarily based upon a description given in 1483.[55] Giacomo Filippo Foresti da Bergamo, an Augustinian monk, whose *Supplementum chronicarum* had provided the evidence for this supposed embassy, was said to have taken his account from the now lost works of Giovanni da Carignano (d. c. 1329–30) who had supposedly interviewed the members of the embassy during their stay in Genoa while on their home journey sometime before his death.[56] Yet, the attribution of this embassy to Ethiopia is misplaced, not least due to the absence of Ethiopian evidence for any such embassy. The lack of Ethiopian evidence has led to Verena Krebs describing the embassy as a 'phantom' embassy or even suggesting that its participants were instead Nubian – a suggestion we will build upon here.[57] Following Kreb's recent reanalysis, the publication of the *Ystoria Ethyopie* portion of a larger work by Galvaneus de la Flamma entitled the *Cronica universalis* (wr. before 1345), has threatened to create new debates as it further attests to an 'Ethiopian' origin of the embassy. Significantly, this more contemporary text also references Carignano as its source and dates the embassy to between 1300 and 1314–30, though with no confirmation of the date of 1306 for their arrival to Iberia or any greater specificity on the date of their return home before Carignano's completion of his text before his death.[58] Prior to the publication of this text, which is held in a private collection, the only known comparable reference to an embassy in near-contemporary sources was said to have arrived in Rome in 1351. Problematically, it was only described as an embassy sent from 'Prester John' by John of Hildesheim (wr. c. 1375) and only appears in some versions of his *History of the Three Kings*. The relevant text which includes this reference is found in a manuscript written in 1413 which is located in Brandenburg but does not explicitly state a Nubian identity. That said, it

does appear between discussions of Prester John and Melchior, both of which are identified as Nubian in other versions of John of Hildesheim's text.[59] An error in the attribution of the date of 1351 may be likely, as the papal court had resided in Avignon at this time and not Rome since 1309; unless, of course, the embassy did not for some reason know about the papacy's relocation to Avignon or had another intended audience. Even if we accept, as a result of the knowledge of the *Ystoria Ethyopie*, that an embassy was received in Western Europe prior to the 1402 Ethiopian embassy which arrived in Venice, does it necessarily follow that the embassy was from Ethiopia at all? To date, the embassy has hitherto been viewed as an event related to the first period of Ethiopian-Latin European relations, rather than within the narrative of possible Nubian-Latin Christian relations.[60]

A mid-to-late fourteenth-century Italian forgery of a letter, which was addressed to the Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV supposedly from the Ethiopian *nəguś* Wədəm Räʿad (r. 1299–1314) – called *Voddomaradeg* in the letter – about launching a new, joint crusade, has provided the apparent conclusive proof in scholarship that the embassy was indeed Ethiopian, as Wədəm Räʿad would have ruled during the time of the supposed embassy.[61] Yet, the letter was a clear forgery: whilst Wədəm Räʿad was the *nəguś* at the time of the embassy, Charles IV did not reign until between 1355 and 1378.[62] The creator of the forgery could readily have learnt about Wədəm Räʿad in the second half of the century as other Latin Christians, as we will see, similarly learnt of the reign of ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon. It should be highlighted that Galvaneus de la Flamma's text, which we will discuss in detail next, associates the embassy with ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon, again suggesting that the Ethiopian identification given to the embassy by Latin Europeans, and especially Carignano, post-dated the actual event itself. Regrettably, Carignano's actual text does not survive, and the map that he drew was destroyed during World War Two, leaving only relatively poor photocopies to analyse. Even more problematically, the portion of the map where Ethiopia should be located was already badly damaged prior to the photographing. Nevertheless, it should be again emphasised that the map contains a reference to the *Terra Abaise*, not *Ethyopia* like in the *Ystoria Ethyopie*.[63] The later identification of the embassy as Ethiopian purposefully overlooks Nubia. A reanalysis of the *Ystoria Ethyopie* further supports that a radical new contextual look at the embassy needs to be undertaken.

Let's begin our discussion of the *Ystoria Ethyopie* with elements of the text which could be ascribed to both Nubia and Ethiopia. The attribution of many subservient sub-kings under the 'Ethiopian' ruler (62 Christian kings and 12 Muslim kings), whilst being reflective of Ethiopia, is also indicative of a confused understanding of the political structure of Nubia, such as the employment of regional eparchs. Importantly, this embellishment may just have been an attempt to connect the Nubians of the embassy and the Nubian Prester John, whose narrative of being a 'king of kings' was well established. The text further explains that the lack of contact between Latin Europe and Nubia was due to the positioning of the Muslims of Egypt and the vast deserts (*deserta maxima*) between them.[64] These deserts would be much more descriptive of Nubia than the generally greener land of highland Ethiopia,

though, of course, this relies on a sustained degree of accuracy in the text and an absence of geographical rhetoric. The same passage says that the journey took many weeks (*pluribus septimanis*). Nubia had long been described as being 20 days' journey from Egypt since the late twelfth century, with any specificity to the meaning of 'many' being unable to be made.[65] A longer journey could easily have occurred for many reasons, and it is important to state that no similar distances were in circulation for Ethiopia, as far as the contemporary sources suggest. Furthermore, the noting of the annual tribute from the sultan to the ruler of 'Ethiopia' in the *Ystorie* would again reflect an understanding of the Baqṭ between Nubia and Egypt, which had no equivalent in Ethiopian-Egyptian relations.[66] All of these features of the text, however, may just as readily have been embellishments and not reflective of any accurate detail concerning *Ethyopie* whatsoever.

One troublesome reference in the *Ystoria Ethyopie* is the belief that *Ethyopie* had a pope.[67] Whilst the role of Ethiopia's abun could have been misconstrued to be a papal-like figure, it had long been known that both Nubia and Ethiopia were subject to the Coptic patriarch and therefore not residences of popes. Dotawo had no comparative high singular religious office, but as the rulers were viewed as priest-kings and held the power to ordain bishops, the authority wielded by the *ourou* may have portrayed the idea of a powerful religious figure that had been interpreted as a separate pope. It should also not be discounted that this information was simply fabricated by Carignano and does not reflect the reality of what the 'Ethiopian' informants of the embassy supposedly told him in Genoa. The statement in the *Ystoria* that 'Ethiopia''s patriarch, named as *Preytzan*, accepts the Roman pope and would readily obey him is clearly an embellishment in line with similar statements made in contemporary texts about Nubians, such as in Burchard of Mount Sion's itinerary and the crusade treatise of Heṫum of Corycus.[68] No contemporary texts make similar statements about Ethiopia prior to the 1340s. Additionally, the naming of the patriarch of 'Ethiopia' as *Preytzan* (Prester John) does not necessarily associate the text with Ethiopia either. As has been previously discussed, Prester John was readily placed in Nubia by the early fourteenth century. Moreover, the Ethiopian noble greeting of *žanhoy*, noted by Alessandro Bausi and Paolo Chiesa as the possible etymology of this name in their publication of the *Ystoria Ethyopie*, had long informed Latin Christians of an Ethiopian ruler named 'John' almost 150 years earlier and should not be viewed as confirming the embassy's supposed Ethiopian identity, especially as a result of any misunderstanding of the language of the individuals of the embassy themselves.[69] The importance of Carignano's attempts at consolidating his details of the embassy and his subsequent knowledge of the territorial expansions of ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon, which coincided with the increasingly wider attribution of Prester John to Ethiopia in Latin Christian discourse from the mid-fourteenth century, should not be understated when viewing the manipulation of the text by Carignano, which will now be discussed.[70]

The passage regarding the original 'Ethiopian' letter to the king of 'Spain' (*Yspanie*) is also more suggestive of a Nubian origin for the embassy when

viewed within the comparative documented interactions of Nubia and Ethiopia with Iberia.[71] Based on the notice regarding his death, the Spanish king in question would appear to have been the King of Castile and León, Ferdinand IV (d.1312). The act of sending a letter to the 'king of Spain' would have occurred with no previously known contact between Ethiopia and any Spanish kingdom prior to this embassy and an isolated incident before *aṣe* Yǝśḥaq's engagement with Alfonso V of Aragon in 1427–8.[72] Nubians, on the other hand, not only had political motivations, which will be discussed momentarily, but also operated within an attested pilgrimage network to Spain at Santiago de Compostela, as already noted, whilst an otherwise unknown Beneseg from Provence was in Dongola at some time between c. 1250 and 1350.[73] Comparative evidence for Ethiopians is currently lacking and Ethiopians are not explicitly noted as having any desire to visit the shrine before 1430.[74] Equally, following their journey to the papal court at Avignon, the ambassadors were said to have travelled to Rome before their appearance in Genoa where they encountered Carignano, and intended to go on further to Santiago de Compostela before returning home, yet no certifiable contemporary reference to Ethiopians at these locations is known.[75] With the exception of Genoa, this route is also notably similar to that supposedly desired to be undertaken by the aforementioned unnamed Nubian king encountered by the Fourth Crusaders in Constantinople in 1203. Their appearance in Genoa is not necessarily unusual either. A reference to some Genoese being present in Dongola appears in the late fourteenth-century *Libro del conoscimiento*, for example.[76] A Genoese presence in Nubia, and thus a reason to want to travel to Genoa, if this may be backdated to earlier in the century too, would also appear better suited to and be more reflective of Nubian, rather than Ethiopian, connections if, indeed, Genoa was not just simply on the route they travelled and had no other significance. The latter of which has no surviving acknowledgement in the sources. Indeed, the *Ystoria* suggests that the 'Ethiopian' embassy set out following the arrival of a number of Genoese to 'Ethiopia' in 1290, which the text associates with the famous Vivaldi brothers and their two ships of over 600 Christians and clergy.[77] There is no evidence that the ships reached beyond somewhere in West Africa at the furthest, but it is clear that the interactions between 'Ethiopians' and Latin Christians were increasingly becoming narrated as more formalised encounters. Most importantly, they were intended. 'Ethiopians' were not simply merely witnessed from a distance.

The 'Ethiopians' of the embassy supposedly informed Carignano how the Virgin Mary, the Apostles Peter and Paul, John the Baptist, Paul the Hermit, Saints Antony and Macarius, and 'all the apostles' were being particularly worshipped by the 'Ethiopians'. Once again, this statement is no evidence for a positive attribution to Ethiopia either, even if Nubian evidence for large-scale reference of some of these figures is currently scant.[78] The Marian cycle of literature, specifically the *Miracles of Mary*, is well attested in Ethiopia (the *Täʾammǝrä Maryam* (ተዓምረ፡ማርያም)), but it was translated from Arabic only during the reign of Däwit II (r. c. 1379–1413), with the high point of Ethiopian veneration of Mary only occurring during the reign of Däwit's

son, *aṣé* Zärʾä Yaʿəqob (r. 1434–68), who centred some of his religious reforms on the veneration of Mary, especially in paintings.[79] The survival of Nubian literature is in no way comparable to that of Ethiopia, so a specific Nubian textual veneration of Mary similar to the *Täʾammərä Maryam* cannot be ascertained. However, Mary was a central figure in Nubian Christianity in all echelons of society, from the laity to the monarchy throughout the period in question and commonly occurs as a protector in contemporary Nubian paintings.[80] The requirement to predate Ethiopia's corpus of Marian literature based solely on this contested Latin Christian text of the embassy cannot possibly be justifiably sustained based on the known corpus.

Similarly, Nubia appears to have had an affinity with the other figures listed, even if it is sometimes unclear to what extent. It is unfeasible to provide every instance of these figures in Nubian painting, literature, or associations with religious buildings, both those in Nubia and those outside with a documented Nubian presence, not least on account of the absence of complete catalogues for such things. That said, a few illustrative examples will be given here. For instance, the apostles occur in various contexts in Nubian art: commonly beside Jesus, the ruling *ourou*, or the archangel. Sometimes they are depicted in situ with the central figure, whoever that may be, possibly as protectors or giving blessing, but sometimes they are also removed almost like observers. Nevertheless, they are there.[81] Equally can be said specifically of St. Peter, as he appears alone protecting Bishop Petros in a late tenth-century painting from Faras cathedral, for example.[82] The function of these figures may also illuminate why these specific figures were mentioned in the *Ystoria Ethyopie*, as protection would have been a particularly valued virtue. The association of many of these figures with cathedrals, churches, and monasteries, especially prominent ones such as Peter and Paul at Faras, should also not be overlooked for the importance of these figures within Nubian culture.[83] Regarding John the Baptist, at least one known possible painting of him of unknown date is housed at the Sudan National Museum, whilst a segment of a hymn praising him, dating to the eleventh century, was found at Qasr Ibrim, seemingly indicating interest in the key biblical figure despite otherwise limited evidence.[84] Likewise, whilst Nubian literature regarding Antony and Macarius is not known in the surviving record, their presence at the monastery of Antony and Macarius on the Red Sea was noted by external visitors.[85] Given Nubia's connections with monasteries throughout Egypt, it would also be possible, if not likely, that Nubians would also have worshipped at the cave church of St. Paul the Hermit on the Red Sea, though direct evidence is lacking. This is also to say nothing of the repetition of these names given to Nubians, and their possible cultural importance, throughout the centuries.

A Nubian identification of the embassy is further supported by the listing of the last figure named for the 'Ethiopians'' devotion: the eunuch of Queen Candace on account of him being the first bishop amongst them.[86] Bausi and Chiesa argue that this tradition of locating the queen in Ethiopia, despite historically being a Nubian, had a long historical precedent within Latin Christendom prior to the fourteenth century.[87] However, as presented

throughout this book, references to 'Ethiopia' in Latin and Greek discourse prior to the fourteenth century cannot be uncritically attributed to Ethiopia. Moreover, without a specifically identifiable Ethiopian toponym, such as ʾAksum, alongside the *Ystoria Ethyopie's Ethyopia*, its identification with Nubia is much more likely. More importantly, no Ethiopian or Latin Christian evidence exists for Ethiopia's association with Queen Candace in dialogue with Latin Christians until Ethiopians claim her legacy at the Council of Florence in the early 1440s.[88] Even the explicit erroneous connection of 'Candace' (*Həndakē*) being the title of the Ethiopian Queen of Sheba in the *Kəbrä nägäśt* cannot be convincingly evidenced to have been disseminated to Latin Christians prior to the production of the *Kəbrä nägäśt*.[89] Moreover, as discussed in Chapter 1, many Nubian elements feature within that text which cannot be attested before its translation and incorporation into Ethiopian political and religious culture. Surviving evidence for Ethiopia's active exporting of this narrative to Latin Europe does not date to before the fifteenth century.

Other elements of the *Ystoria Ethyopie* are also potentially suggestive of a true Nubian origin for the embassy. For instance, the 'Ethiopians' also supposedly informed Carignano on the 'Ethiopian' use of the Trinity in relation to baptism. Whilst we currently have no evidence for this specific practice in Nubia for comparison, it can be said that the invocation of the Trinity repeatedly features in Nubian texts, both of a religious and secular nature, including seemingly in coronation oaths, and appears in church toponymy and in art, thus further contesting any assumed depiction of Ethiopian practices in the *Ystoria*.[90] The text's description of clothing, too, would equally depict Nubian clergy. Paintings from medieval Nubian churches and cathedrals show bishops and deacons wearing tippets. Maniples are also depicted, albeit rarely and being held rather than on the arm, as the text of the *Ystoria* describes.[91] Similarly, the *Ystoria Ethyopie's* reference to the churches being covered in the purest gold (*auro purissimo*) has a Nubian precedent. Bausi and Chiesa attribute this largely to exaggeration, though it should be noted that the tenth-century Muslim historian of Nubia, Ibn Sulaym al-Aswānī, who travelled throughout Nubia during his writing, noted how the churches were full of gold in relation to the city of Soba in Alwa.[92] Additionally, multiple Muslim writers commented on how the Muslims captured 4640.5 dinars worth of gold crosses and 8660 dinars worth of silver objects from the Nubian church of Sus (Jesus) in Dongola when it was destroyed in c. 1276 on account of *ourou* David building it using Muslim slaves originally captured from his raid at ʿAidhāb.[93] This particular church appears to have held a significant draw for visitors and may also be connected to landholdings in Nobadia, further emphasising the wealth of its holdings and its notoriety.[94] Moreover, the abundance of gold in Nubia, more generally, is well-known and was commonly mentioned by contemporaries, including, for example, al-Aswānī.[95] The statement in the *Ystoria Ethyopie*, therefore, would readily apply to comparative descriptions of Nubian churches. In contrast, little is known about Ethiopian gold church decoration prior to the expansive building projects of the fifteenth century where seeking material decoration for these new churches became increasingly politically and culturally

important, as it came hand in hand with military expansion. Whilst various forms of gold ornamentation are mentioned in the sources for some four-teenth-century Ethiopian church decoration, such as the royal church of Atronsä Maryam, we are limited in projecting this image far back into the early fourteenth century.[96] Once more, Nubia has the greater contemporary evidence for an identification of the embassy.

Another description in the *Ystoria Ethyopie* relates that 'Ethiopia' had a white flag with a red cross, which was also said to have had a red star in each quadrant. As noted by Bausi and Chiesa, all Ethiopian evidence for any flag depictions post-date the text by at least two centuries.[97] Yet, this description is also more suggestive of a Nubian identification in light of other Latin Christian texts. Unhelpfully, the flags drawn in the late fourteenth-century *Libro del conoscimiento*, which was known for its many heraldic depictions of supposed 'national' flags, for both Nubia and Ethiopia are depicted with sim-ilar black cross-shaped insignias on their 'flags' (a two-armed black cross on a white background for Nubia and a black cross on a white background for Ethiopia), but none with additional stars as described by the *Ystoria Ethyopie*.[98] However, the cross-shaped insignia on Carignano's own map, which may be presumed to also have been white and red given the black and white photograph, similar to the red and white flags depicted for Nubia on the Catalan Atlas (1375), is laid over Nubia, rather than Ethiopia (Carignano's *Terre Abaise*).[99] Furthermore, the Nubians depicted in near-contemporary manuscripts of Marino Sanudo's *Liber secretorum* (first presented to Pope John XXII in 1321) are depicted with red flags with a white cross, but, more importantly, some manuscripts incorporate additional white crosses in each quadrant, or white flags with a red cross, all of which are strikingly reminis-cent of the design described by the *Ystoria Ethyopie*, albeit with inconsistent colouring.[100] It may also be noteworthy that Carignano and the closest simi-larly depicted version of this flag in the Sanudo manuscript held in Florence were all geographically confined to working in northern Italy, possibly shar-ing artistic influences to depict such similar flag designs. In comparison, no similarly styled flags are attributed to Ethiopia prior to the *Libro*.

The naming of the title of the 'Ethiopian' ruler in the *Ystoria Ethyopie* is the key evidence which supports the suggestion that the embassy's attribution to Ethiopia was of a later date and cannot date to before 1314 at the earliest , long after the embassy had already arrived in Western Europe. According to the text, the ruler was known as the 'slave of Christ's cross' (*sclavus crucis Christi*).[101] This is an understanding of an Ethiopian royal title – Gäbrä Mäsqäl (ገብረ: መስቀል), 'Servant of the Cross', the title of ʿÄmdä Ṣǝyon (r. 1314–44). Importantly, it was not a title held by Wǝdǝm Räʿad, the supposed Ethiopian ruler who had sent the embassy. Bausi and Chiesa note that earlier attestations to this title, such as to Lalibäla and multiple ʾAksumite rulers, do exist.[102] Yet, Latin knowledge of more immediate Ethiopian rulers sharing this title appears non-existent. Indeed, there is no evidence that neither Wǝdǝm Räʿad nor his five immediate predecessors who reigned between 1294 and 1299 also held this title. In contrast, however, Latin authors did become acquainted with ʿÄmdä

Ṣəyon and his use of the title in other fourteenth-century texts. The first intake of developed knowledge of Ethiopia in Latin Europe coincided with the territorial expansion of ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon as news of his exploits reached afar. ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon was still influencing the Latin Christian understanding of Ethiopia even in the decades following his reign, such as in the case of the Ethiopian ruler being named as *Abdeselib* – via the Arabic translation (ʿAbd aṣ-Ṣalīb) of Gäbrä Mäsqäl – in the *Libro del conoscimiento* at the end of the century as previously noted.[103] It is not surprising, therefore, that the embassy would later become erroneously associated with Ethiopia, the kingdom of ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon. It is notable, too, that on Carignano's own map, the ruler known as *Senap*, or 'servant of the cross' (*servus crucis*), is located clearly in Nubia, possibly indicating how news of ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon's activities originally simply built on the Latin Christian narrative of Nubia, including the embassy's identity.[104] After all, news of a regional Christian power would have been presumed by the Latin Christians to have been Nubia, rather than the more obscure 'Abyssinia', especially by any embassy associated with 'Ethiopia', until proven otherwise. Moreover, according to the *Ystoria Ethyopie*, the sultan allowed the 'Ethiopians' to travel to the Holy Sepulchre for no fee out of fear of repercussions and as a result of paying a tribute.[105] Notably, later versions of this narrative which do attribute it to the Ethiopians, such as by Niccolò da Poggibonsi in his mid-fourteenth-century itinerary, who further related how the sultan allowed this out of fear that the Ethiopians would unite with the Latin Christians, importantly coincide with or post-date the reign of ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon.[106]

If the evidence of the *Ystoria Ethyopie* would point towards a Nubian identification of the embassy, what can be said of its Nubian context? Regarding the identity of a likely candidate for the Nubian initiator of the embassy, evidence is unclear as to whether the embassy would have more likely been sent by Georgios Simon, who first appears as *ourou* in the 1280s, or by *ourou* Ayāy (r. c. 1287?–1311). Contemporary Old Nubian land sales from Qasr Ibrim reveal the continued economic and political power of the Eparch of Nobadia – a certain Gourresi – even after he switched support from the *ourou* to the Mamlūk invaders in 1286.[107] Without the support of the influential eparch, Georgios Simon grip on power quickly faded. Indeed, according to Ibn ʿAbd aẓ-Ẓāhir (d. 1292), Georgios Simon appears to have been overthrown by a ruler named Budemmah who was reigning in 1290–2. Ibn Khaldūn, writing later in the fourteenth century, noted that Ayāy succeeded Georgios Simon, but admitted that he was unsure if he was a direct successor or if there was an intermediate ruler in between.[108] Ibn Khaldūn makes no mention of any ruler named Budemmah. Certainly, presuming that Georgios Simon was not killed after being overthrown, he had motive to seek aid to reclaim his throne away from the Mamlūk-supported Ayāy. Muslim sources are certainly suggestive of this possibility. For instance, Ibn al-Wardī (d. 1348) states that Ayāy's appearance in Cairo in 1304 was in order to ask for unspecified aid, with the Egyptian sultan duly despatching an army for the cause.[109] It remains possible that the need for this aid was in response to either a sustained rival claim by the deposed Georgios Simon or another rival claim. Perhaps significantly, Ibn

al-Furāt (d. 1405) equally noted that Georgios Simon only ruled up until the early 1290s, but did not state his successor's name or the reason for his rule ending, whether by death or from being deposed.[110] In 1292, two Nubian embassies were sent to the Mamlūk court to apologise and be pardoned for the unnamed *ourou* – seemingly either Budemmah or Ayāy – after not being able to fulfil the *Baqṭ* payment. The second embassy was led by the *ourou*'s brother, called al-Bursī, and the eparch Gourresi. The failure to pay was blamed on the aftermath of devastation experienced by Dotawo since the Mamlūk's invasion and also increasing incursions led by Adūr of al-Abwāb, likely the same who had helped capture *ourou* David for the Mamlūk sultan in 1276, if not a successor with the same name.[111] This would suggest that a period of instability of unknown length following Georgios Simon ousting would have provided the necessary encouragement for an attempt to retake his throne and also further indicates a clear pro- and anti-Mamlūk divide between contenders for the throne, with Georgios Simon being of the latter disposition. This would also explain Ayāy's need and request for aid from Egypt in 1304.

Unlike the rapid successions in Ethiopia prior to Wədəm Räʿad, which appear to not have brought too much dynastic instability, it remains possible that multiple Nubian rulers were vying for power as death dates during this period remain unclear. The embassy to Spain was said to have been sent in 1300, which would suggest that the embassy should be viewed as being unco-incidental to these dynastic crises. Given that we remain unaware of Georgios Simon date of death, it is possible that the embassy to Spain was sent by him as he continued to contest Ayāy's power. Ayāy's relations with Egypt would indicate that he would have been unlikely to have sent embassies to both the king of *Yspanie* and the Mamlūk sultan concurrently. Due to the inconsistencies in the Muslim texts and having little Nubian corroborating evidence to offer a definitive identification for a contemporary *ourou*, multiple Nubian protagonists for the embassy remain a possibility. In any case, the political situation in the 1290s would have presented a Nubian ruler with the context to desire to reach out to others, possibly building on budding relations with the Latin Christians. Certainly, the presence of the earlier Latin Christian missions to Nubia, such as that of Brother Vasinpace (before 1267), and the letters of Pope Nicholas IV in 1289 and 1290, mentioned in the previous chapter, provided the framework for facilitating any Nubian desires to reciprocate engagement with the Latin Christians to achieve their own aims.

The fact that knowledge of this embassy does not appear in the crusade treatises most focused on amplifying the Nubian threat against the Mamlūks – Hetʾum of Corycus and Marino Sanudo Torsello – can somewhat be explained. Firstly, Hetʾum wrote immediately after the supposed arrival of the embassy to Spain in 1306 in 1307, or possibly even before if the embassy only arrived towards the end of the decade, with the embassy not travelling to the papal court until late 1312 at the earliest. Therefore, Hetʾum may simply have been unaware of the embassy. Moreover, there is no evidence that the embassy had intended to visit the papal court and may only have been invited upon news of their arrival in Spain; the king of

Yspanie may have been the only initial desired recipient by the Nubians. Sanudo, on the other hand, did finish writing with plenty of time to have become accustomed to the embassy. However, he was said to only have appeared at the papal court in 1321 prior to delivering his treatise to the pope, thus possibly not enabling him to interview the embassy if he even would have wanted to (presuming that the embassy was even still resident in Avignon as late as 1321). Furthermore, his treatise was not primarily preoccupied with past events. It was designed to create support for a future endeavour, arguably rendering any description of the embassy, which the papacy would have been well aware of itself in any case, unnecessary. Sanudo's lack of detailing the embassy could also be explained by the fact that his text was already focusing on the Nubians, meaning that a direct reference to the embassy to amplify his message was not necessary. It should also not be forgotten that, importantly, both of the key relevant elements of Carignano's text – the willing obedience of the Nubian 'pope' and the colour of their flag – can be found in copies of Sanudo's work. It should also not be dismissed that Sanudo's crusade treatise explicitly ignores the Ethiopians throughout, despite featuring the kingdom on his accompanying world map as *Habesse*. This would further indicate that it was only a later attribution of the embassy to the Ethiopia of ʿĀmdä Ṣəyon as the embassy did not initially dislodge Nubia's primacy in Latin Christian discourse. It is difficult to believe that news of the embassy would have eluded Sanudo for an accurate identification, as both Sanudo and the embassy may even have been residing in Avignon at the same time. The disparities in the *Ystoria Ethyopie* would all appear to more adequately point to a Nubian identification of the embassy rather than the more commonly argued Ethiopian one.

In all, stronger evidence for a Nubian identity of the embassy would appear to counter any Ethiopian association. In fact, the only feature of the *Ystoria Ethyopie* that cannot produce appropriate contrasting Nubian evidence is the description of the depiction of three red crosses opening and closing royal correspondence. No Nubian royal external correspondence is known to survive, so it cannot necessarily be discounted. This epistolography may not have been unique to Ethiopia, of which the earliest examples only date from the mid-fifteenth century in any case.[112] Additionally, the sending of eight Dominican missionaries in 1316 to Nubia and Ethiopia may also be viewed as one of the outcomes of this embassy, despite the protestations regarding their late appearance in only Latin Christian sources.[113] If anything, the lack of much of the late Nubian material would lend credence to a Nubian destination of the missionaries, as it would be more expected to find references in the relatively much vaster Ethiopian corpus. Moreover, the fact that the references to the embassy and its subsequent attribution to Ethiopia post-date the rise of ʿĀmdä Ṣəyon is significant. Taking the text into account of Nubia's situational political context, Nubia had both a reason and the historically attested connections to facilitate the embassy, which Ethiopia did not. No direct earlier evidence of an attempt by Dotawo to liaise with the Latin Christians is known, yet this embassy seemingly offers a portrayal of the culmination of up to two centuries

of interaction in the Holy Land, with one possible Nubian political faction choosing to capitalise on that for their own benefit. It is not uncoincidental that the forged letter supposedly sent from Wədəm Räʿad additionally claimed that he was also King of Nubia, thus reflecting how an Ethiopian ruler was able to take up the Nubian discourse in the Latin Christian narrative and become connected to previous Nubian exchanges.[114] In light of the evidence for a Nubian identification of the embassy in the *Ystoria Ethyopie* and the broader narratives of the fourteenth-century replacement of Nubia by Ethiopia, this early embassy should most likely be seen as having been led by Nubians, not by a contingent of Ethiopians. It was only subsequently attributed to the Ethiopians, however, as, when contrasted with his map, it would appear that Carignano conflated subsequent knowledge of ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon of Ethiopia to the already present Nubians. Indeed, within context, an original Nubian identification for the embassy would appear the most likely scenario. Perhaps attempted previous Latin Christian engagement with Nubia had not gone entirely unnoticed after all.

Following the (Un)Inspiring Results of the Early Fourteenth-Century Embassy

Within a decade of the embassy, any Latin Christian hope of a working relationship with Nubia all but ended. Even if the despatched Latin Christian missionaries in 1316 were in some way connected to this embassy, whatever the embassy had hoped to achieve, any sustained efforts at collaboration are difficult to directly evidence. A major barrier to any long-term success was the succession of the Muslim Kanz al-Dawla Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad in 1317 to the throne of Dotawo. Pope John XXII remained pope until his death in 1334, indicating that if any news of the events in Nubia following Kanz al-Dawla's succession did reach him, any likely success of the embassy to encourage any cooperation soon faded. Indeed, news of the succession may have been what inspired Carignano to decide to change the embassy's identity to one from the kingdom of ʿÄmdä Ṣəyon whose own power appeared to have been able to offer much more of a threat to Egypt than Nubia now would or even could. This was not the end of Christian Dotawo, however. For example, an *ourou* Joel of Dotawo is recorded as late as 1484 after reigning for at least 20 years prior.[115] Moreover, more immediately, an *ourou* Siti, who was a Christian, succeeded the Kanz al-Dawla and was powerful enough to have led an expedition into Kordofan in the 1330s, further highlighting the reinstation of Dotawo as a regional Christian power.[116] Importantly, Siti's power does not appear to have been finely balanced. He even appears in the *gädl* of the Ethiopian monk Ēwosṭātēwos, which relates, for instance, how, during Ēwosṭātēwos' visit to Dongola in the late 1330s, the mother of the unnamed Nubian *ourou* (who would appear to have been *ngonnen* Asermari if the *ourou* was indeed the same Siti) tended to and washed the feet of pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem, suggesting that the pilgrimage networks were still functional and serviced by a fairly strong Christian kingdom.[117]

Somewhat surprisingly, despite the embassy and the focus on Nubia in crusade treatises, Latin Christians do not directly comment on any perceived decline of Nubia at all. It appears that the eyes of Latin Christians simply shifted their attention to Ethiopia and allowed interest in Nubia to dwindle into obscurity.[118] That said, some possible Latin Christian understanding of the changing situation in Nubia did appear on maps. The Dulcert Map (1339), for instance, indicates that the Sultan of Nubia, whose land was labelled as *Nubia saracenorum*, was always at war with the Christians of Nubia, possibly being an understanding of the contested powers of Mamlūk subjugated parts of Nubia and Christian Dotawo.[119] Who the Muslim Nubians were meant to convey exactly, however, is unclear. Contemporaneously, it would appear that Johannis of Winterthur (Vitodurani) (fl. c. 1348) recounts further conflict between Nubia and Egypt. For the year 1341, Johannis noted that there was a terrible war (*atrocia bella*) between the kings of *Ethiopie* and Egypt.[120] No specific details are given, and the text does not mention either Ethiopia or Nubia elsewhere in order to compare his choice of toponym. However, despite ʿĀmdä Ṣəyon's military activity at this time, no known Ethiopian expeditions towards Egypt relate to this year, suggesting that the reference attests to further Nubian-Egyptian conflict. The appearance of Ethiopia alongside or even replacing Nubia in latter fourteenth-century Latin Christian maps was not coincidental, as Latin Christian attention shifted.[121]

Nubia was quickly replaced by Ethiopia in Latin Christian discourse regardless of the renewed strength of Christian Dotawo. This would hardly have been helped by news of the Nubian royal court moving from Dongola to Daw (Gebel Adda, just south of Qasr Ibrim) in 1365–6, seemingly by necessity, though knowledge of this move is not recorded in any of the surviving Latin Christian sources. Christian Nubia had been increasingly fragmenting since the thirteenth century, possibly even into the nineteenth century, into what Henriette Hafsaas has described as a refuge area warrior society, further emphasising a region of increasing conflict.[122] The existence of al-Abwāb, for example, attests to the beginning of this slow period of political fragmentation. Textual Nubian sources for this later period are currently limited, whilst external sources are much fewer than the previous decades and reveal little about Dotawo's foreign relations beyond Egypt. That said, it should also be stated that there is no evidence that Dongola was not reoccupied by the Christian kingdom, perhaps relatively swiftly, following 1365. The textual evidence of the establishment of the so-called Kingdom of Dongola Town largely rests on the narrative provided by al-Maqrīzī concerning the relocation of Dotawo's capital who related that the Christian ruler was killed, whilst his brother, the newly appointed *ourou*, was forced to flee to Daw.[123] Yet, the latter fourteenth-century evidence of an *ourou* Paper in Dongola and of al-Maqrīzī's noting of reconciliation between the new Nubian *ourou* and his nephew who had initiated the conflict would suggest that Dongola was reintegrated into Dotawo and was not a splinter Christian kingdom, despite the seat of power remaining at Daw supposedly on account

of Dongola now being in ruins, at least according to al-Maqrīzī.[124] Archaeology, however, attests to a Christian occupation of the city into the fifteenth century, which allows for the possibility that a framing of this period of Nubian history away from a reliance on al-Maqrīzī's sole discussion of the events of 1365 may offer new insight into the Christian history of Dotawo prior to the Ottoman expeditions into Lower Nubia in the second half of the sixteenth century, whose own narratives are suggestive of a vacuum of former Christian power between themselves and the Funj.[125] For instance, archaeology is suggestive that the 1504 Funj conquest of the Alwan capital of Soba may have been much less significant in the history of Dotawo, as it currently gets credit, for as the city appears to have been largely in ruins for a number of centuries by that point, possibly as a result of the centralisation of power at Dongola following the unification of Dotawo.[126]

Knowledge of the Christian *ourou* Paper can similarly be contextualised in this manner. In one inscription, he described himself as the ruler of Dongola, rather than Dotawo, which has been used as further evidence of the lasting presence of a splinter kingdom.[127] However, this interpretation need not have been the case. Instead, it remains likely that Paper was indeed a successor of Siti following Dotawo's recovery from the turmoil of the 1360s. Moreover, the absence of the bishop of Dongola in fifteenth-century Old Nubian documents need not consequently portray the loss of Dongola as part of Dotawo either, though our current evidence is too limited to pose alternative reasonings beyond noting the fact that the documents were written in jurisdictions beyond Dongola in Lower Nubia, thus making such an absence not necessarily surprising.[128] Indeed, al-Maqrīzī relates how the *ourou*'s now reconciled nephew settled in Qasr Ibrim, making the existence of a rival Christian dynasty that had established itself in Dongola as a result of the events of 1365 appear unsubstantiated. Regrettably, the question of the extent of the revival of Dotawo after 1365 remains largely elusive of surviving Nubian textual material and relies overwhelmingly on the current framing of the archaeological corpus in light of al-Maqrīzī. Certainly, there are many more questions than we otherwise have answers for, particularly concerning Christian Dotawo into the sixteenth century. Whatever the case of the internal situation, following the 1360s, Dotawo appears not to have recovered on the international stage, by which point it was superseded by the rise of Solomonic Ethiopia.

The almost complete absence of evidence pertaining to any connections between Dotawo and the Latin Christians – or Ethiopia and the Latin Christians for that matter – in the second half of the fourteenth century may be explainable. From a crusading perspective, the disease known in Europe as the Black Death – the plague caused by the primary transmission of *Yersinia pestis* during the late 1340s and early 1350s – may have had important consequences on the history of Nubian-Latin Christian and Ethiopian-Latin Christian relations. Its effects in Latin Europe are well-known, but its impact on African societies, besides those in Egypt, is currently much less understood, though this is increasingly changing.[129] Yet, research on Nubia is still

lacking. For now, it is likely that the devastation caused by the plague at Qūṣ in Upper Egypt, the important Nilotic-Red Sea trade hub, can be extrapolated so that it could, or indeed should, be expected that the plague had a similarly profound effect on Dotawo, particularly in Lower Nubia.[130] It may also be that the plague had some role in the relocation of the Nubian capital from Dongola to Daw in 1365, such as creating the circumstances for Dongola's successful conquest by the Banū Jaʾd, a circumstance that has largely eluded historiographical narratives; though we currently have no evidence, neither textual nor archaeological, for this. Certainly, Egypt was struck by at least four separate plague outbreaks in 1353, 1358, 1360, and 1363.[131] If we take the devastation caused at Aswan and across Upper Egypt by an outbreak in 1412, as relayed by al-Maqrīzī, as any indication of possible effects further south in Nubia, it would appear that Dotawo would hardly have been immune from similar regional devastation.[132] In any case, until further work is undertaken, the plague coincided with a period of major political upheaval in Nubia, which compounded with that of the earlier decades of the century. In respect to the Latin Christians, the plague was widely circulated to have originated in 'Ethiopia', such as in the work of Jacme d'Agramont, a Catalan physician who emphasised an 'Ethiopian' origin of the plague, following similar beliefs of earlier plagues by Galen (fl. second century CE), in his treatise on the plague in 1348.[133] Despite the fact that all but one known contemporary Arab writer placed the source of the plague in Asia, any Latin Christian associations of the plague with 'Ethiopia', and thus Nubia, likely did little to reduce the belief in the lack of contemporary Nubian power.[134] Most importantly for the plague's impact on crusading, it marked an abrupt end to consistent crusade preaching, as well as an end to the creation of crusade treatises, such as those which had highlighted the importance of Nubia in the previous decades.[135] It is unlikely to be coincidental that the arrival of the plague cemented the Latin Christian shift in discourse between the importance placed on Nubia and Ethiopia.

All that being said, the Alexandrian Crusade of 1365 led by Peter I of Lusignan, King of Cyprus (r. 1359–69), despite its failure, is important to discuss here. Prior to the crusade, positive relations with Eastern Christians were a specific focus of Pope Urban V (r. 1362–70), who had directed money towards the protection of Eastern Christians in the eastern Mediterranean in 1363.[136] The Crusade's place in the narrative of Nubian-Latin Christian and Ethiopian-Latin Christian relations is particularly of note, especially as it has primarily been viewed solely in relation to Ethiopia. Bertrandon de la Brocquière attested in 1432 that he was told by a Neapolitan called Pietro, who had resided in *Ethiopia* for some years previously and married an 'Ethiopian' woman, that the grandfather of the present king had intended to jointly attack Alexandria during the crusade of 1365 but abandoned his efforts once he heard that Peter I of Cyprus had ended his attack.[137] Taddesse Tamrat made note how the grandfather of the present king, who he associated with Yəsḥaq (r. 1414–29) to account for Pietro's relocation from Ethiopia, was indeed Säyfä ʾArʿad (r. 1344–72) – this would equally have

applied to Takla Maryam (r. 1430–3) if Pietro had travelled from Ethiopia much more recently – and would externally support any expedition.[138] Regarding its association with Ethiopia, according to one Ethiopian tradition, Säyfä ʾArʿad did lead an expedition into Egypt, but this was coincidental to the crusade, and was actually launched to free the Coptic Patriarch Marqos (r. 1348–63) after hearing that he had been imprisoned by the Mamlūks.[139] No contemporary evidence survives for such cooperation and this narrative should most likely be viewed in context of later relations that were becoming well established by the 1430s following the arrival of the first Ethiopian embassy to Latin Europe in 1402.

The failure of the Alexandrian Crusade certainly appears to have ended the core Latin Christian hope of successful engagement with Nubia. Nothing is currently known about Dotawo between 1372, the installation of Timotheos as the last known bishop of Faras, and 1463, the earliest known reference to *ourou* Joel from an internal textual perspective. This period of absence from the historical record certainly gains a new perspective when viewed alongside the plausible, if not likely, earlier relationship with the Latin Christians and the varied consequences that brought. It may not necessarily have broken ties between Dotawo and the Latin Christians, however. At least in one instance, the Minorite friar who had lived for many years in the realm of Prester John who was hosted in the Kingdom of Navarre and Aragon in 1391 may well have been resident in Nubia.[140] This identification of the realm of 'Prester John' as Nubia, rather than Ethiopia, whilst not discounting somewhere in Asia, would also further explain why it remained a further decade before Latin Christians in Ethiopia were actively questioned on their homeland if the friar had been active some years before given that Däwit II, who conducted the later questioning which inspired the sending of the first embassy to Latin Europe in 1402, had reigned in Ethiopia for over 20 years prior since c. 1379.

As the first Ethiopian embassy approached Venice in 1402 led by the Florentine Antonio Bartoli the turn of the fifteenth century witnessed a new age of Ethiopian-Latin Christian relations. The motivations behind Däwit's embassy appear to be primarily internal and were not in response to active attempted engagement by Latin Christians.[141] Nevertheless, importantly for the Latin Christians, he and his kingdom fitted the image that they had earlier portrayed on Nubia. For instance, during the 1380s Däwit was said to have declared that he would destroy Mecca in retaliation for the Mamlūk persecutions of Christians in Egypt and, according to some Ethiopian sources, was said to have desired to liberate Jerusalem.[142] Even more importantly to the Latin Christians, the embassy provided tangible proof that their endeavours were not in vain. Instead, they simply changed the focus of their energy. Both Ethiopians and Latin Christians continued to shape their own engagements and build on interactions, both new and old, which had previously centred on Nubia. Ethiopia was the new Nubia, both in many respects in their own eyes and the eyes of the Latin Christians. Indeed, Ethiopia became precisely the 'Nubia' that the Latin Christians had long hoped to engage with after all.

Notes

1 N. Christie, *The Book of the Jihad of 'Ali ibn Tahir al-Sulami (d. 1106): Text, Translation and Commentary* (Farnham, 2015), pp. 42–3 (text), 206 (trans.). For a synthesis, though they do not discuss what the Muslim understanding of the Crusades meant for their relations with non-Latin Christians, see P. E. Chevedden, 'The Islamic Interpretation of the Crusade: A New (Old) Paradigm for Understanding the Crusades', *Der Islam*, 83 (2006), pp. 90–136; K. Hirschler, 'The Jerusalem Conquest of 492/1099 in the Medieval Arabic Historiography of the Crusades: From Regional Plurality to Islamic Narrative', *Crusades*, 13 (2014), pp. 37–76.

2 See G. T. Dennis, 'Defenders of the Christian People: Holy War in Byzantium', in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, eds. A. E. Laiou and R. P. Mottahedeh (Washington, DC, 2001), pp. 31–9.

3 See G. W. Bowersock, 'Old and New Rome in the Late Antique Near East', in *Transformations in Late Antiquity: Essays for Peter Brown*, eds. P. Rousseau and M. Papoutsakis (Farnham, 2009), pp. 37–50.

4 See C. MacEvitt, 'True Romans: Remembering the Crusades Among Eastern Christians', *JMH*, 40.3 (2014), pp. 260–75. A similar shift in discourse also occurred in Islamic works: K. Durak, 'Who Are the Romans? The Definition of *Bilād al-Rūm* (Land of the Romans) in the Medieval Islamic Geographies', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 31.3 (2010), pp. 285–98.

5 Tsakos, 'On Place Names', pp. 237–8.

6 Whilst numerous fragments of the Book of Revelation are known from Nubia, as yet, no texts of later apocalyptic traditions which contain the narrative of the 'Roman' ruler and appear throughout Christendom, such as Pseudo-Methodius, the Apocalypse of Samuel, or Pseudo-Shenoute, have been identified in either Old Nubian or found within Nubia in another language.

7 Derat, 'The Zāgwē Dynasty', pp. 179–80.

8 D. Bramoullé, *Les Fatimides et la mer (909–1171)* (Leiden, 2020), pp. 555–9.

9 Beshir, 'New Light', 20.

10 Usāma ibn Munqidh, *Kitāb al-I'tibār*, ed. Hitti, 34 (text); Usama ibn Munqidh, *The Book of Contemplation*, trans. Cobb, 43 (trans.).

11 Beshir, 'New Light', 21.

12 On this event, see van Gerven Oei, 'The Old Nubian Memorial for King George'.

13 Werthmuller, *Coptic Identity*, pp. 67–70.

14 HPEC III.I, pp. 56–7. The event is also found in the Ethiopian Synaxar for the 10th of Miazia: E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, 4 vols. (London, 1928), pp. III:800–1. Also see Munro-Hay, *Ethiopia and Alexandria*, pp. 162–3.

15 B. Żurawski, 'Strongholds on the Middle Nile: Nubian Fortifications of the Middle Ages', in *The Power of Walls – The Fortifications of Ancient Northeastern Africa: Proceedings of the International Workshop Held at the University of Cologne 4th–7th August 2011*, eds. F. Jesse and C. Vogel (Cologne, 2013), pp. 116–7. Nubia's fortifications centred on the Nile which made a navy a necessity: B. Żurawski, 'Makurian Defensive System in the Southern Dongolan Reach (6th–14th Century)', *CAMAPSET*, 19 (2001), pp. 356–85. However, the question of ease of navigating the cataracts remains unknown. For Nile navigation, more generally, primarily see J. P. Cooper, 'No Easy Option: Nile versus Red Sea in Ancient and Medieval North-South Navigation', in *Maritime Technology in the Ancient Economy: Ship Design and Navigation*, eds. W. V. Harris and K. Iara (Portsmouth, RI, 2011), pp. 189–210; J. P. Cooper, '"Fear God; Fear the Bogaze": The Nile Mouths and the Navigational Landscape of the Medieval Nile Delta, Egypt', *Al-Masāq*, 24.1 (2012), pp. 53–73; J. P. Cooper, *The Medieval Nile: Route, Navigation, and Landscape in Islamic Egypt* (Cairo, 2014), esp. pp. 103–84.

16 Ricardi Pictaviensis, 'Chronica', Ex continuatione recensionum D et E, 84.

17 On the event, see Lev, *Saladin*, pp. 49–50; Baadj, *Saladin*, pp. 103–4.

18 For example, the destroying of the homes of the African soldiers around Cairo following his victory: Abū Šāma, *Al-Rawḍatayn*, pp. I:131–3.

19 Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī ʾl-tarīkh*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, 13 vols. (Beirut, 1965–7), pp. XI:398–401, 412–4 (text); *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kamil fi'l-Ta'rikh*, trans. D. S. Richards, 3 vols. (Aldershot, 2006–8), pp. II:218–20, 229–30 (trans.).

20 M. S. Fulton, 'Disaster in the Delta? Sicilian Support for the Crusades and the Siege of Alexandria, 1174', in *Warfare in the Norman Mediterranean*, ed. G. Theotokis (Woodbridge, 2020), pp. 225–38.

21 See A. V. Murray, 'From Alexandria to Tinnīs: The Kingdom of Sicily, Egypt and the Holy Land', in *Rethinking Norman Italy: Studies in Honour of Graham A. Loud*, eds. J. Drell and P. Oldfield (Manchester, 2021), pp. 305–22.

22 Ibn Wāsil declares that the Nubian expedition was launched after an attack was first attempted on Yemen: Ibn Wāsil, *Kitāb mufarrij al-kurub fī akhbār Banī Ayyūb*, ed. J. al-Din al-Shayyal, 3 vols. (Cairo, 1954–61), pp. I:237–43 (I:228–9 for the invasion). However, Abū al-Fidāʾ and al-Maqrīzī appear to suggest that the original plan was to conquer Nubia as Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn's potential retreat but, upon finding the land unworthy, only then was the subsequent invasion of Yemen ordered: Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Kitāb al-mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bašar*, ed. M. al-Din al-Khatib, 4 vols. (Beirut, 1956–61), pp. III:53–4; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al Mulūk*, ed. M. ʿAbd al-Qadir ʿAtta, 8 vols. (Beirut, 1997), pp. I:157–8. Alternatively, Ibn al-Athīr states that there was no preference between either Nubia or Yemen for Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn: Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, pp. XI:386–7 (text); *Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir*, trans. Richards, pp. II:209–10 (trans.).

23 Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh Ibn al-Furāt*, eds. C. K. Zurayk and N. Izzedin, 9 vols. (Beirut, 1936–42), VII:45 (text); OSCN, 520 (trans.).

24 Abū Šāma, *Al-Rawḍatayn*, I:208.

25 Abū Šāma, *Al-Rawḍatayn*, I:209 (text); OSCN, pp. 369–70 (trans.).

26 Abū Šāma, *Al-Rawḍatayn*, II:235 (text); OSCN, pp. 370–2 (trans.); Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, XI:414 (text); *Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir*, trans. Richards, pp. II:230–1 (trans.).

27 Abū Šāma, *Al-Rawḍatayn*, I:178 (text); OSCN, pp. 366–7 (trans.).

28 See: A. Tsakos, 'Epimachos of Attiri: A Warrior Saint of Late Christian Nubia', *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia*, 9 (2012), pp. 239–57.

29 Vantini, *Christianity in the Sudan*, pp. 185–6; Tsakos, 'Epimachos of Attiri', 211n.15.

30 The image is notable for not being similar to the few surviving paintings of Epimachos elsewhere in Nubia: Tsakos, 'Epimachos of Attiri', 220. On Nubian style for warrior saints, see T. Górecki, 'Z problematyki ikonografii świętych wojowników w malarstwie ściennym katedry w Faras', *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie*, 24 (1980), pp. 173–254. Comparatively, see the statue of St. Maurice (c.1240) in Germany: J. Devisse, 'A Sanctified Black: Maurice', in *Image of the Black in Western Art*, eds. Bindman and Gates, I.I:151. The influences could, of course, also have been transmitted via Eastern Christian art, but there are no obvious parallels: M. Immerzeel, 'Divine Cavalry: Mounted Saints in Middle Eastern Christian Art', in *East and West III*, eds. Ciggaar and Teule, pp. 265–86; P. Ł. Grotowski, *Arms and Armour of the Warrior Saints: Tradition and innovation in Byzantine Iconography (843–1261)*, trans. R. Brzezinski (Leiden, 2010).

31 See: Tsakos, 'Epimachos of Attiri', pp. 210–2.

32 W. Y. Adams, *Qasr Ibrîm: The Late Mediaeval Period* (London, 1996), pp. 84–7.

33 For a summary, see B. Żurawski, 'Defending the Indefensible. Nubian Fortifications in the Middle Ages', in *Handbook of Ancient Nubia*, ed. D. Raue (Berlin, 2019), 897–920.

34 For an overview, see Welsby, *Medieval Kingdoms of Nubia*, pp. 133-36.

35 W. Y. Adams, 'Castle-Houses of Late Medieval Nubia', *Archéologie du Nil Moyen*, 6 (1994), pp. 11–46; H. Hafsaas, 'The Nubian Frontier as a Refuge Area Warrior Society between c. 1200 and c. 1800 CE: A Comparison between Nubia and the Ottoman Balkans', *Dotawo: A Journal of Nubian Studies*, 6 (2019), pp. 79–81. More generally on house design changes during the period, see J. R. Anderson, *Spatial and Temporal Distribution of Domestic and Civil Architecture in Christian Nubia* (Unpublished PhD, University of Toronto, 1996), pp. 88–140.

36 J. Spaulding, 'Medieval Christian Nubia and the Islamic World: A Reconsideration of the Baqt Treaty', *IJAHS*, 28.3 (1995), pp. 585–6n26.

37 *Gadla Yemreḥanna Krestos*, ed. and trans. Marrassini, pp. 56 (text), 89 (trans.).

38 HPEC III.II, pp. 189–90; Derat, *L'énigme d'une dynastie sainte*, pp. 160–3.

39 Derat, *L'énigme d'une dynastie sainte*, pp. 263 (text), 268 (trans.).

40 The earliest reference to this raid is found towards the end of the same century: Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī, *Kitāb basṭ al-arḍ f ī ʾl-ṭūl wa-ʾl-ʿarḍ*, ed. J. Vernet Ginés (Tétouan, 1958), 13 (text); OSCN, 400 (trans.). On the locating of the Damādim, see D. Ayana, 'The Northern *Zanj*, *Demadim*, *Yamyam*, *Yam/Yamjam*, *Habasha/Ahabish*, *Zanj-Ahabish*, and *Zanj ed-Damadam* – The Horn of Africa between the Ninth and Fifteenth Centuries', *History in Africa*, 46 (2019), pp. 77–92.

41 For a brief overview of Nile flooding throughout the period in question, see Hassan, 'Extreme Nile Floods'. Regarding disease in Nubia, until further research is undertaken, the best examples can only be extrapolated from Lower Egypt's experience of the mid-fourteenth century, see B. Shoshan, 'Notes sur les epidemies de peste en Egypte', *Annales de démographie historique* (1981), pp. 387–404

42 For a list of contemporary earthquakes to hit the wider region, see N. N. Ambraseys, C. P. Melville, and R. D. Adams, *The Seismicity of Egypt, Arabia and the Red Sea: A Historical Review* (Cambridge, 1994), 108.

43 The need to incorporate this evidence more in discussions of Nubian history has been noted by David Edwards, though evidence still remains limited: D. N. Edwards, *The Nubian Past: An Archaeology of the Sudan* (London, 2004), pp. 12–3.

44 Vantini, 'Sur l'éventualité'.

45 Zacharopoulou, 'Ὁ σουλτάνος Baybars και η Νουβία'.

46 al-Mufaḍḍal, for example, dates a separate earlier expedition by David against ʿAidhāb to 1272, suggesting a period of sustained conflict: al-Mufaḍḍal, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*, ed. and trans. E. Blochet, 3 vols. (Turnhout, 1982–5), II:375 [211] (text and trans.). On this period, see R. Seignobos, 'Back to the Sources: Egyptian-Nubian Relations Under Baybars (1260–1277) According to the Earliest Arabic Accounts', in *Nubian Archaeology in the XXIst Century: Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Conference for Nubian Studies, Neuchâtel, 1st–6th September 2014*, ed. M. Honegger (Leuven, 2018), pp. 135–48.

47 al-Mufaḍḍal, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*, ed. and trans. Blochet, II:400 [236] (text and trans.).

48 Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, pp. 84–5.

49 L. S. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678–689 A.H./1279=1290 A.D.)* (Stuttgart, 1998), pp. 146–9; R. Seignobos, 'La liste des conquêtes nubiennes de Baybars selon Ibn Šaddād (1217–1285)', in *Aegyptus et Nubia Christiana*, eds. Łajtar, Obłuski, and Zych, pp. 553–77; Seignobos, 'Back to the Sources'.

50 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tašrīf*, ed. Kamil, pp. 156–64 (text); Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, pp. 132–40 (trans.).

51 See Loiseau, 'The Ḥaṭī and the Sultan', pp. 640–1.

52 S. A. Frantsouzoff, 'The First Step to Apostasy? (An Ethiopian Ruler's Missive to the Sultan Baybars Re-interpreted)', *Scrinium*, 16.1 (2020), pp. 367–74.

53 Cerulli, *Etiopi*, pp. I:88–90; Munro-Hay, *Ethiopia and Alexandria*, pp. 195–9.

54 Taddesse Tamrat, *Church and State*, pp. 251–2.

55 P. Lachat, 'Un ambassade éthiopienne auprès de Clement V, à Avignon, en 1310', *Annali Pontificio Museo Missionario archeologico già Lateranensi*, 31 (1967), pp. 9–21; C. F. Beckingham, 'An Ethiopian Embassy to Europe c. 1310', *JSS*, 14 (1989), pp. 337–46. However, the existence of the embassy has recently been discredited by Verena Krebs: V. Krebs, 'Re-examining Foresti's *Supplementum Chronicarum* and the "Ethiopian" Embassy to Europe of 1306', *BSOAS*, 82.3 (2019), pp. 493–515.

56 Giacomo Filippo Foresti da Bergamo, *Supplementum Chronicarum* (Venice, 1483), Book VIII, fols. 17v-18r (text); R. A. Skelton, 'An Ethiopian Embassy to Western Europe in 1306', in *Ethiopian Itineraries*, ed. Crawford, pp. 214–5 (trans.).

57 Krebs, 'Re-examining Foresti's *Supplementum Chronicarum*'. See too S. Kelly, 'Ewosṭateans at the Council of Florence (1441): Diplomatic Implications between Ethiopia, Europe, Jerusalem and Cairo', *Afriques: débats, méthodes et terrains d'histoire*, Varia (2016), http://journals.openedition.org/afriques/1858, n.1; Knobler, *Mythology*, pp. 36–7.

58 Bausi and Chiesa, 'The *Ystoria Ethyopie*', pp. 18–9 (text and trans.).

59 John of Hildesheim, *Three Kings of Cologne*, ed. Horstmann, Ch. 34, pp. 259–60.

60 This is most explicitly witnessed in the comparative works on Islam in Nubia and Ethiopia by Joseph Cuoq. The embassy is discussed regarding Ethiopia as the first of many relations between Latin Europe and Ethiopia, whereas it fails to feature in his similar book on Nubia, which is also largely framed without acknowledgement of the Crusades: J. Cuoq, *L'Islam en Ethiopie des origines au XVIᵉ siècle* (Paris, 1981), pp. 195–7; J. Cuoq, *Islamisation de la Nubie chrétienne: VIIe-XVIe siècles* (Paris, 1986).

61 *Lettera inedita del presto Giovanni all'imperatore Carlo iv, ed altra di Lentulo ai senatori romani sopra Gesu Cristo, secondo il volgarizzamento citato dagli accademici della Crusca Diverso*, ed. L. Del Prete (Lucca, 1857), pp. 9–23.

62 Krebs, 'Re-examining Foresti's *Supplementum Chronicarum*', pp. 511–2.

63 Nordenskiöld, *Periplus*, pl. IX.

64 Bausi and Chiesa, 'The *Ystoria Ethyopie*', pp. 18–9 (text and trans.).

65 Arnoldi, 'Chronica Slavorum', in MGH SS XXI, Book VII Ch. 8, 238 (text); *Chronicle of Arnold of Lübeck*, trans. Loud, 277 (trans.). This was later reduced to 12 days by contemporaries of Carignano: Hetùm of Corycus, 'La Flor des Estoires de la Terre d'Orient', Ch. 10, 232; Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Liber secretorum*, ed. Bongars, Book III Part XIV Ch. 12, pp. 259–61 (text); Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Book of Secrets*, trans. Lock, pp. 413–5 (trans.).

66 Bausi and Chiesa, 'The *Ystoria Ethyopie*', pp. 36–7 (text and trans.).

67 Bausi and Chiesa, 'The *Ystoria Ethyopie*', pp. 18–9 (text and trans.).

68 Burchard of Mount Sion commented in 1283 that the *Nubiani*, amongst a list of other Eastern Christian groups, would readily offer obedience to the Latin pope: Burchard of Mount Sion, 'Descriptio Terrae Sanctae', in *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor*, ed. Laurent, Book XIII Ch. 5, 89 (text); *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, trans. Pringle, 315 (trans.). Additionally, Hetùm of Corycus, for example, refers to the Nubians as having great reverence for Pope Clement V in his reasoning for their apparent willingness to fight with the Crusaders against Egypt: Hetùm of Corycus, 'La Flor des Estoires de la Terre d'Orient', Ch. 23, 247.

69 Bausi and Chiesa, 'The *Ystoria Ethyopie*', pp. 18–9 (text and trans.). For the first external naming of the Ethiopian ruler as John, see *Du Yorkshire à l'Inde*, ed. Gautier-Dalché, De Viis Maris, Ch. 11, pp. 216–7.

70 On this period of expansion, see Taddesse Tamrat, *Church and State*, pp. 98–106.

71 Bausi and Chiesa, 'The *Ystoria Ethyopie*', pp. 30–3 (text and trans.).

72 Krebs, *Medieval Ethiopian Kingship*, pp. 62–3.

73 Łajtar and Płóciennik, 'A Man from Provence'.

74 Krebs, *Medieval Ethiopian Kingship*, 73.

75 Bausi and Chiesa, 'The *Ystoria Ethyopie*', pp. 32–5 (text and trans.).

76 *El libro del conoscimiento de todos los reinos = The Book of Knowledge of All Kingdoms*, ed. and trans. N. F. Marino (Madrid, 1999), pp. 56–7 (text and trans.).

77 Bausi and Chiesa, 'The *Ystoria Ethyopie*', pp. 36–9 (text and trans.).

78 Bausi and Chiesa, 'The *Ystoria Ethyopie*', pp. 24–7 (text and trans.).

79 Bausi and Chiesa, 'The *Ystoria Ethyopie*', pp. 24–5 (text and trans.). On Mary in Ethiopia see, for example, M. Heldman, *The Marian Icons of the Painter Frē Şeyon: A Study of Fifteenth-century Ethiopian Art, Patronage, and Spirituality* (Wiesbaden, 1994); T. Tribe, 'Memory and Wonder: Our Lady Mary in Ethiopian Painting (15th–18th Centuries)', in *Memory and Oblivion: Proceedings of the 29th International Congress of the History of Art Held in Amsterdam, 1–7 September 1996*, eds. W. Reinink and J. Stumpel (Dordrecht, 1999), pp. 625–34; J. Gnisci, 'A Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Icon of the Virgin and Child by the Master of the Amber-Spotted Tunic', RSE, *3ª Serie*, 3 (2019), pp. 183–93.

80 K. A. Mich, 'Elements of Christian Popular Piety in Nubia (VI–XVI century) – An Outline of Aspects', *Annales Missiologici Posnanienses*, 23 (2018), pp. 46–7. Mary was particularly assigned the role of protector in numerous paintings of monarchs and other high-ranking officials, with many surviving examples notably dating to the centuries contemporary with the Crusades. For references to some examples from Faras, see S. Jakobielski, 'Nubian Scenes of Protection from Faras as an Aid to Dating', *Études et travaux*, 21 (2007), esp. pp. 46–9. Furthermore, as well as the multiple paintings of Mary found throughout Nubia, one particular scene from the monastery at Dongola of dancers, possibly depicting the celebration of the cult of Mary, is suggestive of a wider church-sponsored contemporary Marian culture in addition to the popular piety discussed by Mich: M. Martens-Czarnecka, 'A Scene of a Ritual Dance (Old Dongola – Sudan)', *Études et travaux*, 22 (2008), pp. 115–25, esp. 122. Also see V. J. W. van Gerven Oei, 'A Dance for a Princess: The Legends on a Painting in Room 5 of the Southwest Annex of the Monastery of Kom H in Dongola', *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology*, 47 (2017), pp. 117–35.

81 No complete catalogue of Nubian wall painting has yet been published, and the individual examples are too numerous to reference here. However, for some discussion of the apostles in painting, see M. M. Woźniak, 'The Chronology of the Eastern Chapels in the Upper Church at Banganarti. Some Observations on the Genesis of "Apse Portraits" in Nubian Royal Iconography', in *Aegytpus et Nubia Christiana*, eds. Łajtar, Obłuski, and Zych, pp. 629–46.

82 Jakobielski, 'Nubian Scenes', 46.

83 On the iconography of these churches at Faras for further context of the importance of certain figures and place, see S. Jakobielski et al., *Pachoras/Faras: The Wall Paintings from the Cathedrals of Aetios, Paulos and Petros* (Warsaw, 2017).

84 P. van Moorsel, J. Jacquet, and H. Schneider, *The Central Church of Abdallah Nirqi* (Leiden, 1975), 108; A. Deptuła, 'Greek *Sticheron* from Medieval Nubia Praising John the Baptist (Q.I. 1964, 6a Revisited)', *Symbolae Osloenses: Norwegian Journal of Greek and Latin Studies*, 94.1 (2020), pp. 201–11.

85 Such as: *Ludolphi rectoris*, ed. Deycks, Ch. 34, 61 (text); *Description*, trans. Stewart, 80 (trans.).

86 Bausi and Chiesa, 'The *Ystoria Ethyopie*', pp. 26–7 (text and trans.).

87 Bausi and Chiesa, 'The *Ystoria Ethyopie*', 27n.15.

88 Raineri, ed., *Lettere*, pp. 32 (text), 34 (trans.).

89 Bezold, *Kebra Nagast*, pp. 30 (text), 24 (trans.); *La Gloire des Rois*, trans. Beylot, 181.

90 Bausi and Chiesa, 'The *Ystoria Ethyopie*', pp. 20–3 (text and trans.). Nubian textual invocations are too numerous to list here. For its appearance in corona- tion oaths, this may be gleaned from its invocation in Šhekanda's oath of 1276 as given by al-Qalqašandī: P. M. Holt, 'The Coronation Oaths of the Nubian Kings', *Sudanic Africa*, 1 (1990), pp. 5–9. A Church of the Holy Trinity is known in Qasr Ibrim, for example, along with the Monastery of the Holy Trinity in Dongola. For the Trinity's appearance in art, see P. Makowski, 'The Holy Trinity in Nubian Art', in *Dongola 2012–2014: Fieldwork, Conservation and Site Management*, eds. W. Godlewski and D. Dzierzbicka (Warsaw, 2015), pp. 293–308.

91 Bausi and Chiesa, 'The *Ystoria Ethyopie*', pp. 22–5 (text and trans.). On Nubian ecclesiastical dress, see K. C. Innemée, *Ecclesiastical Dress in the Medieval Near East* (Leiden, 1992), pp. 134–207.

92 Bausi and Chiesa, 'The *Ystoria Ethyopie*', pp. 20–3 (text and trans.); E.-H. H. M. Kheir, 'A Contribution to a Textual Problem: "Ibn Sulaym al-Aswāni's Kitāb Akhbār al-Nūba wa-l-Maqurra wa-l-Beja wa-l-Nīl"', *Arabica*, 36.1 (1989), 53.

93 For example, this was recorded by Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh*, eds. Zurayk and Izzedin, VII:47, 49–50 (text); OSCN, 536 (trans.); al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al mulūk*, eds. M. M. Ziada and S. A. al-F. Ashur, 4 vols. (Cairo, 1934–72), 1.ii:622–3 (text); OSCN, pp. 681–2 (trans.). Similar amounts are given by other contemporary writers, such as by al-Nuwayrī who gave the amounts as 4700.5 dinars' worth of gold and similar things and 8760 dinars' worth of silver: Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, 33 vols. (Beirut, 2004), 30:223 (text), Seignobos, 'Back to the Sources', 145 (trans.)

94 A. Łajtar, 'Wall Inscriptions in the Banganarti Churches: A General Note After Three Seasons of Work', *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology*, 33 (2003), pp. 144–5.

95 Kheir, 'Contribution', 54.

96 Krebs, *Medieval Ethiopian Kingship*, pp. 192–203.

97 Bausi and Chiesa, 'The *Ystoria Ethyopie*', pp. 28–9 (text and trans.).

98 For example, see the flags in the most extant manuscript copy of the *Libro*: Madrid, Biblioteca Nationale de España, MSS 1997, 28v, 31v, 32v, 33v.

99 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MSS Espagnol 30.

100 An example of each style can be viewed in the manuscripts held at the Vatican Library (Vat.Lat. 2972, 15v), the Bodleian Library at the University of Oxford (MS Tanner 190, 22r), and the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence (Ricc. 237, 15v).

101 Bausi and Chiesa, 'The *Ystoria Ethyopie*', pp. 14–5 (text and trans.).

102 See the commentary in Bausi and Chiesa, 'The *Ystoria Ethyopie*', 14n.8.

103 *El libro del conoscimiento*, ed. and trans. Marino, pp. 60–3 (text and trans.).

104 Nordenskiöld, *Periplus*, pl. IX. The same information is repeated on Angelino Dulcert's 1339 portolan too: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, CPL GE B-696 (Rés).

105 Bausi and Chiesa, 'The *Ystoria Ethyopie*', pp. 36–7 (text and trans.).

106 Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'oltramare*, ed. Bacchi della Lega, Ch. 257, pp. II:209–10 (text); Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Voyage*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, 126 (trans.).

107 'Documentary Evidence and the Production of Power in Medieval Nubia', *Afriques*, 7 (2016), para. 17–9, http://journals.openedition.org/afriques/1871.

108 Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, V:92 (text); OSCN, 561 (trans.).

109   Ibn al-Wardī, *Tatimmat al-mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bašar*, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1868), II:253 (text); OSCN, 505 (trans.). If it is not a confusion of the same event, ambassadors of Ayāy may also have appeared in Cairo in c. 1310 professing the *ourou's* loyalty: Ibn Taghrī-Bīrdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhira fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*, ed. A. Ramzī, 16 vols. (Cairo, 1930–56), IX:78 (text); OSCN, 738 (trans.). Ibn Iyās (d. c. 1524) did, however, separate two diplomatic events of the Nubian *ourou*, presumably to be attributed to Ayāy, in 1304 and 1312: Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ az-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ ad-duhūr*, 3 vols. (Cairo, 1893–4), pp. I:147, 157 (text); OSCN, 780 (trans.).

110   Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh*, eds. Zurayk and Izzedin, VIII:92 (text); OSCN, pp. 546–7 (trans.).

111   OSCN, pp. 430–2 (trans. with reference to the Arabic within).

112   Bausi and Chiesa, 'The *Ystoria Ethyopie*', pp. 28–31 (text and trans.).

113   Fontana, *Monumenta Dominicana*, 172.

114   *Lettera inedita del presto Giovanni*, ed. Del Prete, 9.

115   A. Łajtar and G. R. Ruffini, 'Qasr Ibrim's Last Land Sale, AD 1463 (EA 90225)', in *Nubian Voices*, eds. Łajtar and van der Vliet, pp. 121–31. The 1484 document found at Gebel Adda regarding *ourou* Joel is known but remains unpublished.

116   Ochała, 'A King of Makuria in Kordofan'.

117   Ochała, 'A King of Makuria in Kordofan'; 'Vita et miracula Eustathii', ed. Turaiev, III:f.34; *Saints fondateurs*, trans. Colin with Robin and Derat, pp. 132–3.

118   If anything, Latin Christians ignored the plight of Nubia and continued to describe its Christianity, just with less attached importance. For example, a Christian Kingdom of *Dongala* in *Nubye* appears in Jean de Bethencourt's *l'Histoire de la Conquête des Canaries* (wr. between 1402 and 1406), which was copied by the author from the *Libro del conoscimiento*: Jean de Bethencourt, *Le Canarien: Livre de la conquête et conversion des Canaries (1402–1422)*, ed. G. Gravier (Rouen, 1874), Ch. 56, 90 (text); Jean de Bethencourt, *The Canarian: or, Book of the Conquest and Conversion of the Canarians in the Year 1402*, trans. P. Bontier and J. Le Verrier (London, 1872), 99 (trans.). Equally, Nubians are still recorded in the Holy Land and Egypt into the sixteenth century. For instance, Nubians in Egypt are recorded by Gabriele Capodilista in 1458; Felix Fabri noted Nubians amongst the many groups in the Holy Land during his pilgrimage between 1480 and 1483; Enrico il Pio, Duke of Sassonia, similarly claimed to have witnessed Nubians amongst other Christians in the Holy Land in 1499, with Nubians being the most devout of them all (*Nubiani devotiores inter omnes habentur*); whilst Ludwig Tschudi also mentioned Nubians during his travels in the Holy Land in 1519: Cerulli, *Etiopi in Palestina*, I:255; Felix Fabri, *Les Errances de frère Félix, pèlerin en Terre sainte, en Arabie et en Égypte*, ed. and trans. J. Meyers and M. Tarayre, 8 vols. (Paris, 2013–20), pp. IV:172–3 (text and trans.); Henry IV the Pious, 'Iter in Terram Sanctam Secundum', in *Itinera sex a diversis Saxoniae Ducibus et Electoribus diversis temporibus in Italiam omnia, tria etiam in Palestinam et Terram Sanctam facta*, ed. Balthasar Mencius (Wittenberg, 1612), 93; Tschudi, L., *Reysz und Bilgerfahrt, zum Heyligen Grab. Des Edlen und Gestrengen Herren Ludwigen Tschudis von Glarus [...] In welcher nit allein, die fürnembsten Stätt unnd öhrter, dess Heyligen Landts Palestinae, und der gantzen gegne daselbst herumben, sonder auch ausserhalb deren, vil andere denchwürdige Stätt, Inseln Oehrter, und derer Inwohner, mancherley Sitten, Art unnd gebräuch, etc.*, ed. M. Tschudi (Freiburg, 1610), pp. 135, 146–7, 191–2, 199, 216, 306.

119   Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, CPL GE B-696 (Rés). Equally, Marco Polo (c.1298) noted that Ethiopia was at war with Nubia, which, as no other source uses this language, may reflect conflict with the Mamlūks who had increasingly gained a presence in Nubia from the 1270s onwards rather than Christian Nubia itself: Marco Polo, *Description*, eds. and trans. Moule and

Pelliot, Ch. 193, I:436. Symon Semeonis (1323) also appears to comment on some Nubians not being Christians: *Itinerarium*, ed. and trans. Esposito, Ch. 72, pp. 92–3 (text and trans.).

120 'Die Chronik Johanns von Winterthur', in MGH SrG ns III, 194. For Ethiopia and Egypt's relationship during this period, see Munro-Hay, *Ethiopia and Alexandria*, pp. 207–9.

121 For examples, see B. Hirsch, 'L'espace nubien et éthiopien sur les cartes portulans du XIVe siècle', *Médiévales*, 18 (1990), pp. 69–92.

122 On post-thirteenth-century Nubia as a refuge area warrior society, see Hafsaas, 'The Nubian Frontier'.

123 The passages which inform the current scholarly narrative are in OSCN, pp. 698–702.

124 For a current overview of these latter centuries, see W. Godlewski, 'Archaeological and Architectural Evidence of Social Change in 13th–17th Century Dongola', *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean*, 27.1 (2018), pp. 617–43.

125 For discussion of some of the latest archaeological data for Dongola, see the chapters in W. Godlewski and D. Dzierzbicka, eds., *Dongola 2012–2014: Fieldwork, Conservation and Site Management* (Warsaw, 2015); W. Godlewski, D. Dzierzbicka, and A. Łajtar, eds., *Dongola 2015–2016: Fieldwork, Conservation and Site Management* (Warsaw, 2018). On the Funj and the Ottomans, see A. C. S. Peacock, 'The Ottomans and the Funj Sultanate in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *BSOAS*, 75.1 (2012), pp. 87–111.

126 M. Drzewiecki, et al., 'The Spatial Organisation of Soba: A Medieval Capital on the Blue Nile', *Antiquity* (2021), pp. 1–8 (first view, doi:10.15184/aqy.2021.158).

127 A. Łajtar, 'Late Christian Nubia through Visitors' Inscriptions from the Upper Church at Banganarti', in *Between the Cataracts*, eds. Godlewski and Łajtar, pp. 329–30.

128 For example, Łajtar and Ruffini, 'Qasr Ibrim's Last Land Sale'.

129 See recently M. H. Green, 'Putting Africa on the Black Death Map: Narratives from Genetics and History', *Afriques*, 9 (2018), https://journals.openedition.org/afriques/2198. Egypt has primarily remained the focus of studies on the Nilotic effects of the plague. For example, see M. W. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton, 1977); Shoshan, 'Notes sur les epidemies'; S. Borsch, 'Plague Depopulation and Irrigation Decay in Medieval Egypt', in *Pandemic Disease in the Medieval World: Rethinking the Black Death*, ed. M. H. Green (Kalamazoo, 2015), pp. 125–56. Comparatively, recent research has centred plague as a cause of site abandonment in West Africa and its occurrence in Ethiopian texts: D. E. Gallagher and S. A. Dueppen, 'Recognizing plague epidemics in the archaeological record of West Africa', *Afriques*, 09 (2018), http://journals.openedition.org/afriques/2198; M.-L. Derat, 'Du lexique aux talismans: occurrences de la peste dans la Corne de l'Afrique du XIIIe au XVe siècle', *Afriques*, 09 (2018), http://journals.openedition.org/afriques/2090. No explicit published research has yet been produced, to my knowledge, for the role of the mid-fourteenth-century plague in Nubia.

130 Dols, *Black Death*, pp. 164–5.

131 Shoshan, 'Notes sur les epidemies', 395.

132 Borsch, 'Plague Depopulation', 129.

133 *Regiment de preservació de pestilència de Jacme d'Agramont (s. XIV): Introducció, transcripció i estudi lingüístic*, ed. J. Veny i Clar (Tarragona, 1971), Ch. 17, 61.

134 Dols, *Black Death*, 42. On the plague's origin and its subsequent transmission in relation to the Indian Ocean, see M. H. Green and L. Jones, 'The Evolution and Spread of Major Human Diseases in the Indian Ocean World', in *Disease Dispersion and Impact in the Indian Ocean World*, eds. G. Campbell and E.-M. Knoll (Cham, 2020), pp. 40–6. For the textual absence of internal references to the plague in India or China, emphasising the plague's northern Central Eurasian

origin, see G. D. Sussman, 'Was the Black Death in India and China?', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 85.3 (2011), pp. 319–55.

135 For the period leading up to this sudden end, see C. Georgiou, *Preaching the Crusades to the Eastern Mediterranean: Propaganda, Liturgy and Diplomacy, 1305–1352* (Abingdon, 2018).

136 Letter from Pope Urban V to King John II of France on 31 March 1363, in M. Prou, *Études sur les relations politiques du pape Urbain V avec les rois de France Jean II et Charles V (1362–1370)* (Paris, 1888), 101.

137 *Le Voyage d'outremer de Bertrandon de la Brocquière*, ed. C. Schefer (Paris, 1892), 148.

138 Taddesse Tamrat, *Church and State*, 253, pp. 253–5.

139 Taddesse Tamrat, *Church and State*, 253.

140 *Documents*, ed. Rubió Y Lluch, 365.

141 Krebs, *Medieval Ethiopian Kingship*, pp. 18–25.

142 HPEC III.III, pp. 267–8; J. Perruchon, 'Légendes relatives a Dawit II (Lebna-Dengel), roi d'Éthiopie', *Revue sémitique*, 6 (1898), pp. 163–4 (text), 170–1 (trans.). As noted by Taddesse Tamrat and Adam Knobler, Perruchon incorrectly attributed the legend to the wrong Dāwīt: Taddesse Tamrat, *Church and State*, 255n3; Knobler, *Mythology*, pp. 38–9n30. Aṣé Dawit II had marched on Egypt early in his reign: *Acta Marqorēwos*, ed. and Latin trans. Conti Rossini, pp. 42–4 (text), OSCN, pp. 741–4 (trans.). See Wiet, 'relations Égypto-Abyssines', 124; Taddesse Tamrat, *Church and State*, pp. 255–6.

Conclusion

Throughout the Crusading period, Latin Christians expanded their knowledge of Nubia and Ethiopia via an expansive web of interactions, including with Nubians, Ethiopians, and other Eastern groups. The First Crusade established four Latin states that were largely unaware of their new surroundings. As the twelfth century progressed, however, and particularly following the loss of Jerusalem in 1187, a multifaceted array of knowledge networks throughout the Holy Land, the wider Mediterranean, and further afield, informed the Latin Christians of potential distant allies to aid in their fight against the Muslim powers in Syria and Egypt. It is clear that Nubians and Ethiopians would have been active participants in these exchanges with Latin Christians, both as disseminators and receivers of news and information, though that is not to say that they necessarily readily portrayed themselves as potential allies. The question of any potential alliance centred primarily on the actions of Dotawo, with Ethiopia largely remaining unengaged until the turn of the fifteenth century. Nubians increasingly began to be viewed as potential allies which could create a Christian alliance surrounding Egypt by both the Latin Christians and the Muslims of Egypt. This appears to have been the case during the late twelfth century but became a particular focus following the fall of Acre in 1291 as the Latin Christians intensified their quest to engage with Nubia as a potential crusading ally. Regrettably, we remain unaware of the intentions of Dotawo and Ethiopia in their engagements with Latin Christians during this period. Nevertheless, Nubians, Ethiopians, and Latin Christians should be seen as being well-aware of each other, indeed much more than the sources suggest. The absence of this acknowledgement in their respective sources is largely due to source survival, especially from the Nubian and Ethiopian perspectives.

When the history of Dotawo is contextualised within a broader regional geopolitical arena, it would appear unlikely that Dotawo remained a bystander to events to its north, but no surviving Nubian evidence is forthcoming on this matter. Despite the lack of direct evidence from a Nubian perspective, new questions are posed about the history of Nubia when the latter centuries of Dotawo are viewed comparatively alongside those of the Crusader States, Egypt, and Ethiopia. Late thirteenth- and early

fourteenth-century Mamlūk aggression towards Dotawo, for example, cannot necessarily be isolated from Nubia's associations – whether, real, imagined, or deemed possible – with the Latin Christians. The events of the early 1170s created a precedent whereby Muslim writers had reason to fear the development of an encircling Christian alliance surrounding Egypt. The Egyptian fear of a Nubian-Latin Christian alliance may be evidence of the reality of these relations, and it would also explain why direct diplomatic contact was rare if the Egyptians were actively able to prevent such opportunities. The Nubian soldiers in Egypt who attempted to communicate with King Amalric in 1169, whilst not representatives of the desires of Dotawo, highlight how potentially notable events remained unrecorded in both the Nubian and Latin Christian corpus and are reliant on other sources. If the story of the messenger had not occurred in relation to the significant 1169 uprising in Egypt and the arrival of Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn, the story of the messenger may have been relegated to obscurity completely. How many events like this were left unrecorded? The Mamlūk fear of an alliance between the Nubians and the Latin Christians attests to the sustained threat of such an alliance, both perceived and real. However, Dotawo did not entirely collapse during this period despite repeated challenges which were both related and unrelated to the events presented within this book and continued to exist in part up until the sixteenth century. Yet the fourteenth century gave Latin Christian onlookers the impression of decline, despite the initial hope inspired by the arrival of the early fourteenth-century (1300–c. after 1314) embassy to Castile and to the papal court at Avignon. The Mamlūks had seemingly successfully portrayed themselves as victors in Nubia, leaving Ethiopia able to step into the power vacuum left by Dotawo's removal from international affairs. How far Dotawo did actually experience a prolonged period of decline remains difficult to assess. Indeed, the reign of *ourou* Siti in the 1330s would suggest a Christian Nubian resurgence after the reign of the Muslim Kanz ad-Dawla, which even witnessed the throne hall of Dongola being turned into a mosque. For the period following 1365, Nubian sources and external accounts are too scarce to create a detailed or consistent picture of the situation by the late fourteenth century prior to the arrival of *ourou* Joel between the 1460s and 1480s whose reign signifies the lasting authority of the Christian Nubian rulers.

Whilst similar interactions with Ethiopians also occurred, Ethiopians were not initially deemed to be significant enough to become a focus of Latin Christian discourse. The Ethiopian kingdom of Bəgʷəna had regional gravitas during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but engagements between Nubians and Latin Christians may simply have been more substantial than those between Ethiopians and Latin Christians. Ethiopian sources are far too scant to reveal any more on the matter from their point of view. The arrival of the Solomonic dynasty in 1270 began to change this narrative, especially after the reign of ʿĀmdä Ṣəyon (r. 1314−44). Prior to the dissemination of news of ʿĀmdä Ṣəyon's exploits in Ethiopia across the Mediterranean, Ethiopia largely remained absent in Latin Christian crusading discourse. Indeed, the turning point was the arrival of the Ethiopian embassy in Venice

in 1402, and the significance of its timing should not be understated. Ethiopian evidence shows no sign of any interest in political or military alliances with any Latin Christian ruler before the reign of *aṣé* Däwit II (r. c. 1379–1413). The likely identification of the early fourteenth-century 'Ethiopian' embassy as Nubian further attests to this. Evidence suggests that Ethiopia was known to Latin Christians, notably through the appearance of the toponym of 'Abyssinia' from the late twelfth century, but surviving recorded information remained quite superficial in favour of Nubia. It is no coincidence that more texts begin to reference Ethiopia once it became apparent to the Latin Christians that military cooperation with Nubia was no longer possible and Ethiopia appeared to be a better alternative. Both Ethiopia and the Latin Christians began to be interested in each other for their own respective gain, but this does not appear to have been coordinated, and the development of relations was the result of separate circumstances. Nevertheless, in context, the timing of the arrival of the 1402 Ethiopian embassy to Venice and the significance of Solomonic Ethiopia's coincidental adoption of the toponym of *ʾItyoṗya* are both integral for understanding the Ethiopian and Latin Christian framing of subsequent diplomatic relations. A 'new' Ethiopia had replaced the 'old' 'Ethiopia' of Nubia.

There is no evidence to suggest that Ethiopians viewed themselves as 'Ethiopians' prior to 1270. In fact, evidence suggests that previous Ethiopians, whether in ʾAksum or Bəgʷəna, actively avoided such an identification as 'Ethiopia' and were fully aware of its historical and biblical allusions to Nubia. The Solomonic dynasty's desire to reconnect its lineage to a biblical past to legitimise its authority centred the dynasty on being rulers of *ʾItyoṗya*. As such, they recentred Ethiopia within a wider Christian universal history which had once centred Nubia. The contemporary stagnation of Dotawo certainly gave Ethiopia a cultural vacuum in which to appropriate the toponym of 'Ethiopia'. It also enabled its rulers to take up the traditional mantle of Nubian rulers, such as being the protector of Eastern Christians in disputes with the Muslims of Egypt. However, the full range of reasons why this process occurred and precisely how interconnected this all was is unclear. For example, there is no clear evidence that Ethiopia initially adopted the toponym explicitly because it wanted to replace Nubia, and it remains possible that it was solely an internal development with the arrival of the Solomonids, which only developed significance outside of Ethiopia after the initial decades of Solomonic rule. As such, the parallel developments in Ethiopia and Dotawo may have merely been coincidental. That said, it would be unlikely that Solomonic Ethiopia remained ignorant of events in Dotawo, especially through their shared ecclesiastical networks with the Coptic patriarch. As Nubia declined in Latin Christian discourse, a 'new' Ethiopia readily took its place, and the arrival of the Ethiopian embassy in 1402 changed the narrative completely. It may even be said that whilst Nubia ultimately suffered as a result of the Crusades, Ethiopia was a beneficiary, whether intentionally or inadvertently, of the geopolitical and geocultural circumstances that Dotawo came to find itself in.

The possible significance of attempted Nubian-Latin Christian relations in the era of Ethiopian-Latin Christian diplomacy may be particularly witnessed in one of the early recorded fifteenth-century embassies. Unlike the 1402 embassy to Venice which is recorded in Ethiopian sources, an embassy which arrived in Rome in 1404, supposedly following up from another embassy which had arrived in the previous year, has no lasting legacy in Ethiopian sources and is only known from Latin Christian sources.[1] This embassy has long been known in Ethiopian Studies and in the history of Ethiopian-Latin Christian relations and has remained as part of the broader narrative of diplomatic relations. However, one potentially significant detail recorded regarding the embassy has remained overlooked, which, in light of the evidence provided throughout this book, deserves to at least be considered with an alternative narrative. The three ambassadors, noted only as 'three black 'Ethiopians' from India' (*tres ethiopes nigri de India*), were said to have laughed when they were told about the content of the *Book of the Three Kings* regarding their land by their Latin Christian hosts.[2] Nothing concerning what was discussed appears in the sources but, presumably, it centred on a copy of John of Hildesheim's text of the same name which, as noted in Chapter Four, centred its comments on the Nubian Prester John. Given the lack of textual, rather than contextual, Ethiopian evidence for the embassy, analysis of the embassy has overlooked the fact that John's text actually focuses on Nubia, not Ethiopia. What might this mean for understanding the embassy? Two intriguing suggestions come to mind. First, though probably contextually less probable, it is possible that the embassy was actually a Nubian embassy which had coincidently arrived in Rome following a recent Ethiopian embassy to Venice and has thus been erased in scholarship due to the nature of the sources. Problematically, almost nothing is currently known about Dotawo at this time to suggest a reason for sending such an embassy beyond possibly responding to the likely effects of contemporary plague and Nile flooding that were recorded in neighbouring Egypt within Nubia, though direct evidence for such is also currently lacking both textually and archaeologically. Nevertheless, Nubians could readily have been amused by such a wrong depiction of their kingdom by the Latin Christians as depicted in Hildesheim's text, particularly as they almost certainly did not know what the text was. Alternatively, the embassy may well have been an Ethiopian embassy, but did the Latin Christians actually believe, or indeed hope, that they were Nubians, hence the Ethiopians' amusement at being mistaken for Nubians? Significantly, John of Hildesheim's text does explicitly refer to Nubia, not Ethiopia (or even 'Ethiopia'). In which case, this would only serve to highlight the importance of Nubia in the origins of the Ethiopian-Latin Christian relations of the fifteenth century.

Moving Beyond This Study

One thing that should be emphasised moving into the decades following this study is that Nubia did not completely vanish into obscurity after being

overtaken by Ethiopia in Latin Christian diplomatic discourse. For instance, Gomes Eanes de Zurara (d. 1474), the royal chronicler of the early decades of the Portuguese expansion into West Africa, listed the five key reasons for Dom Henrique's patronage of the early fifteenth-century expeditions in his *crónica* (wr. stopped in 1453) as the following:

  I. The prince wanted to know what lands lay beyond Cape Bojador.
 II. He desired to seek out Christian populations to engage in trade.
III. He intended to work out the geographical extent of the power of the North African Muslims.
 IV. He sought to find a Christian ruler who would join him in the fight against the Muslims.
  V. Lastly, he wished to spread the Christian faith throughout Africa.[3]

The focus of the prince is notable. Instead of portraying a period of new engagement with Africa, Zurara's text can, rather, actually be viewed as a continuation of the relations presented throughout this book. The previous two centuries and relations between Nubia, Ethiopia, and Latin Christians had given purpose and belief in the success of these aims. Notably, despite the Ethiopian embassies of the early fifteenth century, Nubia remained integral to the early Portuguese endeavours. For example, in 1454, the year following the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, Dom Afonso V used Nubia to situate the scope of Portuguese occupations overseas when he bestowed upon the Order of Christ the eternal oversight and jurisdiction over all spiritual affairs concerning all the beaches, coasts, islands, and conquered, and yet-to-be-conquered, lands of 'Guinea', Nubia, and 'Ethiopia', including those parts of Africa yet to be named.[4] The historical significance of Nubia remained. Importantly, the story of Afro-European fifteenth-century relations, whether Luso-African or Ethiopian-Latin Christian, should not be framed unquestionably as narratives of new engagements and were building on previous endeavours, albeit in new forms. Building on what has been presented here leading up to the fifteenth century, how exactly the idea of Nubia, if not the real or perceived power of the kingdom of Dotawo, continued to inspire Latin Christian designs for Africa remains a potentially fruitful research avenue that continues to be neglected.

Between the twelfth century and the arrival of the first Ethiopian embassy to Latin Europe in 1402, this study has shown that the significance of the role of Nubia, both in perception and reality, in crusading geopolitics should no longer remain overwhelmingly neglected or even dismissed. Using a corpus of sources that had not previously been reviewed in tandem, it has especially emphasised the importance of looking beyond the Latin Christian corpus to retrace arenas of Nubian, Ethiopian, and Latin Christian interaction, which had previously not been used to its full potential. No previous study has hitherto used the range of sources presented here: Old Nubian, Gəʿəz, Coptic, Latin (and other Latin European vernacular sources), Arabic, Greek, Syriac, Hebrew, and Armenian, along with the current archaeological corpus.

Importantly, the majority of sources presented here are already published and accessible in order to highlight the need for a new narrative of the corpus. Further scope to incorporate unpublished material could provide even more avenues for future study to expand on the arguments presented here. Moreover, other source corpora, which were only briefly touched on here, would provide even more avenues for analysis for future research, notably connections retraced via the artistic corpus, both in its styles and material production. Whilst material connections cannot necessarily differentiate between either direct connections or indirect trade via intermediaries, more evidence which connects both Nubia and Ethiopia to Europe during the period in question here beyond the textual evidence would only serve to further establish an interconnected world which included Dotawo, Ethiopia, and Latin Europe.

The range of sources discussed here, often piecing together disparate corpuses, have highlighted how limited the picture painted concerning Nubia, Ethiopia, and Latin Christendom before 1402 by previous scholarship, particularly in the fields of Nubian, Ethiopian, and Crusades Studies, is as a result of using a much more limited corpus than what currently exists. The referencing to translations, where possible, has been designed to introduce as many of these sources to the broadest audience to help overcome many of the barriers between the various fields of study: namely, identifying and reading sources in corpora often considered independent or, at best, only tangentially connected. Nevertheless, the linguistic analysis of editions of all sources discussed underpins the arguments of identification which run throughout this study to emphasise the methodology of distinction between Nubians and Ethiopians. Whether concerning Nubian or Ethiopian engagement with the Latin Christians or the question of the scope of potential arenas of exchange in the Holy Land, Egypt, and elsewhere, it has been made clear that previous discussion of such questions has limited itself to only a fragment of the relevant corpus. For instance, the question of the presence of Ethiopians in the Holy Land prior to 1187 cannot be maintained when contextualised with sources beyond the Latin Christian corpus. Indeed, the reframing of the early fourteenth-century 'Ethiopian' embassy to northern Iberia and Avignon as a Nubian embassy not only challenges current narratives of its supposed Ethiopian identification based on overlooked contextual evidence but also poses important questions about Nubian diplomacy during a time of significant internal political turmoil. Moreover, conclusions drawn from the linguistic analysis of the appearance and use of the toponym of 'Ethiopia' challenges commonly held notions of the internal and external identity of Ethiopia, particularly challenging the repeated scholarly opinion that it was applied to the predecessors of Solomonic Ethiopia before 1270. Most importantly, this study has emphasised how Nubia should not be ignored or overlooked in favour of Ethiopia based on overly simplistic or anachronistic notions of the identity of biblical Ethiopia later cemented by the Solomonic dynasty. Furthermore, the highlighting of the fact that Solomonic Ethiopia did not universally claim itself to be 'Ethiopia' in correspondence with

non-Christian recipients poses further questions for the adoption, scope, and purpose of Solomonic Ethiopia's new identity.

Additionally, the framing of the sources for interaction within a methodology of news interactions – primary, secondary, and tertiary networks, as well as communal knowledge – has highlighted how the routes of news and information can be retraced, or at least plausibly reconstructed, despite often limited references to direct interaction, particularly in the earlier period. Knowledge production did not develop in a vacuum. Equally, many subsequent questions remain unanswered, such as the circumstances behind the Nubian adoption of the word *santa* in one possibly c. late twelfth-century document from Qasr Ibrim. Fleeting and isolated interactions are one matter, but language adoption suggests much greater engagement than the text otherwise relates. Communal knowledge, particularly, points to diverse observational knowledge which could develop even without the need for direct interactions. We should also not forget about the information which was shared but shows almost no explicit trace in certain arenas, such as in the Holy Land during the earlier twelfth century. The information exchange and interactions presented here should not necessarily be considered to be isolated only to the directly and indirectly documented instances. By no means does this approach only have to apply to the material presented here and could readily be transplanted to other studies where direct evidenced interactions are similarly limited, both in scope and in scale.

This study has shown that many more areas of interaction between Nubians, Ethiopians, and Latin Christians occurred during the twelfth to fourteenth centuries than is currently accredited in the respective fields of scholarship. Not only was Nubia a 'Mediterranean society', to return to Giovanni Ruffini's term, but the activities of Dotawo and Nubian diasporas beyond Nubia went further than that of trade and pilgrimage, particularly in the realm of regional geopolitics and information dissemination. Equally, even though it is argued that Ethiopia was not diplomatically active with Latin Europe since late antiquity until 1402, it was not unknown to the Latin Christians – largely emphasising the early priority of Nubia in Latin Christian discourse until the fourteenth century. By doing so, this study has drawn attention to the role of Nubia and Ethiopia in contemporary Latin Christian discourse, the significance of contextualising the latter history of Dotawo within a regional geopolitical prism, and on the circumstances and platform on which Solomonic Ethiopia adopted the biblical 'Ethiopian' identity at the expense of Nubia. As Nubian and Ethiopian evidence remains relatively scant in comparison to the Latin Christian corpus, this study has also sought to emphasise the importance of discussing Nubia and Ethiopia in Crusades Studies, and other comparable Latin European studies, rather than maintaining a focus on other Eastern Christian groups. It is not the case that the evidence for discussing Nubians or Ethiopians in this manner is necessarily unknown or limited. Particularly, this study has emphasised a much greater need to contextualise the Crusader States within the Red Sea region far beyond the largely sole discussion of Reynald de Châtillon's 1182–3 Red Sea 'raid' within a Holy Land-centred narrative.

Beyond the parameters of the study in question, this work also hopes to offer discussions which pertain to questions concerning the Latin Christian fifteenth-century 'invention' of 'Africa', which developed from their early interest in Nubia, before shifting attentions to Ethiopia alongside the emerging continent. In contrast to the material presented here on Nubia and Ethiopia, this study also poses the question regarding the competing discourses concerning West Africa. As Latin Christian interest in West Africa increased from the latter half of the thirteenth century, at least as far as the sources portray, how far did Latin Christian discourse on the remainder of the African continent truly rival that of Ethiopia, at least until the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1633? Can it be said that Ethiopia always maintained a primacy? Other questions resulting from this study concern the depth of Nubian influences in early Solomonic identity in Ethiopia. Similarly, did this framing of identity reach beyond the question of 'who was Ethiopia' and was it only an Ethiopian prerogative, or did any aspects of Ethiopian culture get adopted by Dotawo too? Certainly, much more work needs to be undertaken concerning the physical and intellectual connectivity between Nubia and Ethiopia between the fourth and sixteenth centuries. One particular area of study that this work has only inadvertently addressed is the study of race in medieval Latin Europe. It has sought to provide a narrative of Christian African-Latin Christian relations during the twelfth and fourteenth centuries as a result of increased engagement with each other, which can be used for further work on how concepts of race developed or were challenged in Latin Europe. Christian Africa did not witness the same application of non-Christian attitudes or ignorance that non-Christian Africa experienced in medieval Latin Christian discourse and this distinction remains commonly overlooked in current scholarship.

Moving forward, this study has sought to provide new inspiration for future directions in the study of Nubia, Ethiopia – as well as Africa more generally – and the Crusades, both for the period between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries and as a foundation for the later events of the fifteenth century. It has reframed and recontextualised the histories of post-twelfth-century Nubia and Ethiopia within a much wider regional narrative. Moreover, it has highlighted how much more work needs to be done concerning the relationship, both physical and intellectual, between the regions of Nubia and Ethiopia prior to the collapse of Dotawo in the sixteenth century. This study has also aimed to shed new light on the role and impact of the Crusade movement beyond its traditionally perceived boundaries, illustrating how it could have both beneficial and detrimental impacts on neighbouring Christian African kingdoms. Above all, this book has highlighted the interconnected nature of the histories of Dotawo, Ethiopia, and the Crusades and has proposed that these histories should no longer be viewed almost entirely in isolation and that the historiographical rejection of connections needs to be continually reassessed. Indeed, the histories of Dotawo, Ethiopia, and the Crusades between c.1095 and 1402 cannot be fully understood without also situating them within the wider contemporary context of each other.

Notes

1 See Krebs, *Medieval Ethiopian Kingship*, pp. 25–9.
2 Lazzarini, 'Un'ambasciata etiopica in Italia nel 1404', pp. 845–6.
3 Gomes Eanes de Zurara, *Crónica*, ed. de Sousa Soares, Ch 7, pp. I:43–5 (text); Azurara, *Chronicle*, trans. Beazley and Prestage, pp. I:27–30 (trans.).
4 *Monumenta Henricina*, eds. M. Lopes de Almeida, I. Ferreira da Costa Brochado, and A. Joaquim Dias Dinis, 14 vols. (Coimbra, 1960–74), XII:5.

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